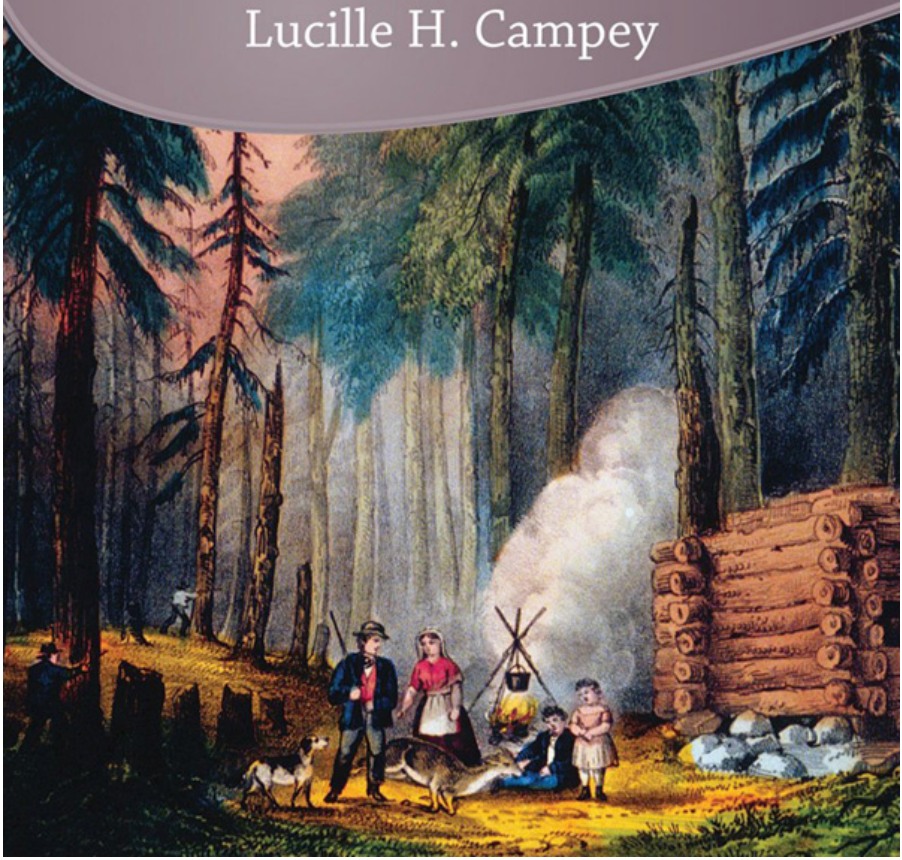
With Axe and Bible

The Scottish Pioneers of New Brunswick, 1784–1874

Lucille H. Campey



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With Axe and Bible

The Scottish Pioneers of New Brunswick, 1784–1874

LUCILLE H. CAMPEY

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To Geoff

CONTENTS

TABLES AND FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

PREFACE

ABBREVIATIONS

CHAPTER ONE The First Pencils of Light

CHAPTER TWO Loyalist Arrivals

CHAPTER THREE Early Forest Clearings: The Charlotte County Scots

CHAPTER FOUR Attractions of the Miramichi: The Northumberland County Scots

CHAPTER FIVE Searching for River Frontages: Scottish Concentrations in the Southeast

CHAPTER SIX The Timber Trade Moves North: The Restigouche County Scots

CHAPTER SEVEN The Skye Settlers

CHAPTER EIGHT Later Arrivals: New Kincardineshire and Other Settlements

CHAPTER NINE With Axe and Bible

APPENDIX I Ship Crossings from Scotland to New Brunswick, 1784–1848

APPENDIX II Characteristics of Vessels Listed in Appendix I

NOTES

BIBLIOGRAPHY

INDEX

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

TABLES & FIGURES

TABLES

William Davidson's and John Cort's Settlers at Miramichi in 1785 1
Men from the Royal Highland Regiment (42nd) Who Were Granted Land on the Nashwaak River in 1787 2
Men from the Argyll Highlanders Regiment (74th) Who Were Granted Lots by the Digdeguash River (St. Andrews) in 1790 3
List of 25 Scottish Families Who Were Settled in Charlotte County in 1804 4
Lumberers Listed As Debtors in the Accounts of Loch & Duncan, 1836 5
Funds Raised in 1830 by the Newcastle Presbyterian Congregation 6
Funds Raised in 1833 by the Chatham Presbyterian Congregation 7
List of Passengers Who Arrived at Saint John on the *Rosina* from Greenock in May 1803 Without Having Paid Their Fares 8
Passenger List, *Favourite* of Saint John, 1815 9
Passenger List, *Lady Campbell* of Glasgow, 1833 10
Passenger List, *Lady Campbell* of Glasgow, 1834 11
Botsford Parish (Richibucto) Petitioners of 1826 12
Kilmarnock Petitioners Seeking Aid to Go to Chaleur Bay, Jan. 31, 1827 13
Petition from 33 Skye Families to the New Brunswick House of Assembly, 1838. 14
Passenger List for the *Castalia* Crossing in 1873 (New Kincardineshire Settlers) 15

FIGURES

Reference Map of Scotland 1
Percentage of Scottish-born Immigrants in 1851 2
Loyalist Concentrations in 1785 3
Scottish Concentrations in Charlotte County, 1851 4
Scottish Concentrations in Northumberland County, 1851 5
Scottish Settlements in the Southeast of the Province, 1851 6
Scottish Concentrations in Restigouche County, 1851 7
Scottish Settlements in York, Carleton and Victoria Counties, 1874 8
Distribution of Scots in Restigouche, Northumberland and Kent Counties, 9

1851–61

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PREFACE

The story of the New Brunswick Scots is largely untold. While a great deal has been written about some of the individual settlements that were founded by Scots, no overview of the total picture has ever been attempted. This may be due partly to the relatively short-lived dominance that Scots enjoyed as colonizers. Although they were especially well-represented in the late 18th and early 19th century influx of British immigrants to the province, they quickly became outnumbered by other ethnic groups, especially the Irish.

New Brunswick had been far less successful in attracting Scots than say Nova Scotia, Cape Breton or Prince Edward Island, mainly acquiring individuals rather than large well-organized groups. Its more land-locked location and vast impenetrable forests were off-putting to many Scots. Yet, paradoxically, it soon became clear to me that these same forests were an enormous magnet for what might be called independently-minded Scots. They were the self-financing, enterprising ones who could see the benefits to be had from New Brunswick's hugely important timber trade. In learning how the timber trade developed, I turned to Graeme Wynn's splendid *Timber Colony: A Historical Geography of Early Nineteenth Century New Brunswick.* Through it I could observe just how closely the progress of colonization and the development of the timber trade were interlinked.

The timber trade was the driving force of New Brunswick's economy. Because Scottish merchants, shipbuilders and sawmill owners dominated the timber trade in large areas of the province, the enterprise quickly attracted Scottish emigrants. Being among the earliest British settlers to arrive, the colonizers found particularly favourable locations along timber-collecting bays and the rivers that flowed into them. The timber trade had provided the ships that carried them to the province and gave them important economic spin-offs when they arrived. Some simply became full-time lumberers while others earned money from seasonal employment in the lumber camps, thus supplementing their farming incomes. However, although Scots were present in many parts of the province, their numbers cannot be accurately quantified.

Mid-19th century census data reveals unmistakable concentrations of Scots

in the north of the province. Contemporary visitors like Robert Cooney and J.F.W. Johnston reported that vast areas of the Miramichi and Restigouche were almost exclusively Scottish. Visiting Presbyterian ministers wrote of the several hundreds of Presbyterian families in such regions. W.S. Ganong's scholarly analysis of early New Brunswick settlements also provides irrefutable evidence of large numbers of Scots in these same areas. They were undoubtedly present but where had they come from? Some may have moved from other parts of the Maritimes, but their numbers are too great to be explained solely by internal migration. And yet the available shipping data reveals very few examples of emigrants who sailed from Scotland to the province's northern ports in the Miramichi and Chaleur Bay. The inevitable conclusion is that the shipping data is deficient. Large numbers of emigrant Scots must have sailed to these ports, thus making their numbers considerably greater than is commonly supposed.

This book is entitled "with axe and bible" for good reason. Religion, the second recurring theme, had enormous consequences for the well-being of uprooted Scots who were trying to come to terms with their strange environment. The Presbyterian clergymen sent out from Scotland by the Glasgow Colonial Society were an important religious and cultural lifeline. I have used their extensive accounts of visits to chart the location of Scottish communities. They were on-the-spot observers and through their reports it is possible to distinguish between long-established settlements and those that were in the process of being formed when the clergymen first arrived. Trudging phenomenal distances to scattered communities, these ministers gave lengthy sermons to crowds of Scots who themselves had walked many miles to hear the word of God. In our largely Godless, sound-bite age it is difficult for us to imagine the comfort and reassurance that such visits would bring. It helped them to overcome the rigours and feelings of isolation and privations that pioneer life imposed on them.

Questions of Scottish culture have also been considered. Being Gaelic-speaking, Highlanders were far more visible than Lowlanders, settling apart from the rest of society in order to preserve their culture. On the other hand, Lowlanders quickly became assimilated in ethnically-mixed communities. Yet the melting pot overcame Highlanders in the end. Although the Gaelic language survived for a few decades, it was in decline from the late 19th century. And because the Gaelic culture relied on the spoken word, little has been recorded. So, although some symbols of Highland culture live on in the province, they are modern interpretations of a Highland past that has been lost.

My own family's connections with New Brunswick have been at the back of my mind while writing this book. My great-grandmother, Mary Mclndoe, was born around 1825 on Beaubears Island in Northumberland County. Mary and her family later moved to Scotland, where she married Hugh Marquis, my great-grandfather. I suspect that it was her family's contacts with the

Miramichi that encouraged Mary and Hugh to later move from Gourock in Renfrewshire to Chatham. Having risen to become superintendent of the Chatham Gas Works, Hugh went on to acquire two small shipyards in the town. Like so many Scots, who emigrated to New Brunswick, the Marquis family had prior knowledge of the province, came on their own and benefited from the timber trade. There were many more families like them. What had they dared to dream when they first arrived? At least they had the axe and bible to see them through.

ABBREVIATIONS

AFP *Aberdeen Free Press*
AH *Aberdeen Herald*
AJ *Aberdeen Journal*
CG *City Gazette*
CM *Caledonian Mercury*
DC *Dundee Courier*
DGG *Dumfries and Galloway Courier*
DWJ *Dumfries Weekly Journal*
DCB *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*
EC *Elgin Courier*
GA *Greenock Advertiser*
IJ *Inverness Journal*
LAC Library and Archives Canada
NAB National Archives of Britain
NAS National Archives of Scotland
NBC *New Brunswick Courier*
NLS National Library of Scotland
NSARM Nova Scotia Archives and Record Management
PANB Provincial Archives of New Brunswick
PEIG *Prince Edward Island Gazette*
PP *Parliamentary Papers*
QM *Quebec Mercury*
SJ *Stonehaven Journal*
SM *Scots Magazine*
SRA Strathclyde Regional Archives
UNBA University of New Brunswick Archives

With Axe and Bible

The Scottish Pioneers of New Brunswick, 1784–1874

CHAPTER ONE

THE FIRST PENCILS OF LIGHT

They are now employed in letting, at points few and far between—single pencils, as it were, here and there, of the sun's rays amongst that boundless continuity of shade which has hitherto overspread this gigantic land.[1]

It is difficult for us to imagine what it is must have been like to be among the province's first pioneers. On his travels through Charlotte County, the Reverend Alexander MacLean observed what he called the single pencils of light that dotted the landscape, as the first few trees were being cleared in the interminable forests. Scottish colonizers would eventually create their communities in these vast wildernesses, but progress in producing cleared farmland was slow. From the time that Britain first secured control over this territory, it was clear that New Brunswick's destiny would be driven primarily by its wealth in timber rather than its agricultural potential.

France had surrendered Acadia (peninsular Nova Scotia) to the British in 1713. Fearing that Acadians would plot with France and be hostile to her interests, Britain expelled thousands of them from their lands in 1755. Having been removed from their settlements at Minas Basin, Chigecto Bay and the head of the Bay of Fundy, they were forced to relocate to the Atlantic coast between Massachusetts and Georgia. However, several hundred Acadians managed to escape, seeking refuge in the northern wilderness of the future New Brunswick or in He Royale (Cape Breton) and He Saint Jean (Prince Edward Island), which still remained under French control.

Their principal gathering place was the Miramichi where around 3,500 Acadians were taking refuge under the watchful eye of Charles Deschamps de Boishébert, the Acadian commander, who established his headquarters there. The major Acadian encampment was at the junction of the two branches of the Miramichi River, the aptly-named Beaubears Point (laterWilson's Point).[2] Acadians were also to be found at Beaubears Island, opposite the Point, or at various places along the Miramichi River between present-day Chatham and Newcastle and the coast.[3] But this was a temporary respite only since, after the fall of Louisburg in 1758 when British control was extended to present-day New Brunswick and the two islands, they suffered yet another round of

deportations. Once again, many escaped detection or fled from the region, returning later to establish Acadian communities along the south shore of the Bay of Fundy, and at Memramcook, Shediac and other places along the eastern coastline of the future New Brunswick.[4] The Mi'kmaw, Maliseet and Passamquoddy First Nation people signed their treaties of submission in 1761, and with the removal of most Acadians, Britain's control over New Brunswick's land was well and truly secured.[5]

A view of the Miramichi in 1760 when it was under French control. *Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada, Ace. No. R9266-1110 Peter Winkworth Collection of Canadiana.*

Four years later saw the arrival of the Morayshire-born William Davidson, founder of the Miramichi region's lumbering and shipbuilding industries. Being more interested in pursuing his business interests than in promoting settlement, his initial impact on population growth was minimal. A large number of settlers did arrive two decades later when, with Britain's defeat in the American War of Independence in 1783, nearly 15,000 Loyalists were moved at government expense from the United States to New Brunswick, which became a separate province a year later. Forming the initial core of New Brunswick's immigrant society, they were mainly located along the St. John River Valley and in the southwest corner of the province at Passamaquoddy Bay. Nevertheless, they failed to attract much in the way of followers, far fewer than had been hoped. On the contrary, many Loyalists were dissatisfied with their new locations and either returned to the United States or found better prospects in Upper Canada. To the dismay of local administrators, New Brunswick soon became a well-trodden gateway to the United States, not just for new arrivals from Britain seeking to avoid American immigration taxes, but also for its own disgruntled settlers. By 1806 New Brunswick's population was only 35,000, nearly half that of Nova Scotia and Upper Canada and a fraction of Lower Canada's population, which was almost seven times greater.[6]

Compared with other parts of the eastern Maritimes, New Brunswick was a late developer. Various settlement promoters recruited large numbers of Highlanders in the 1770s to colonize areas of Prince Edward Island and Pictou, Nova Scotia, but the future New Brunswick, which did not then exist as a separate colony, was totally bypassed.[7] Its sudden intake of Loyalists a decade later gave it mainly American-born settlers, who retained fairly distant ties with the disparate parts of Britain from which their families had originated. In stark contrast to them were the Highlanders and Islanders who first colonized Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia. They came in large, organized groups and quickly created successful communities, which in turn became powerful magnets for follow-on emigration from those areas that had fostered the original settlement footholds. The tide of immigration had still not reached New Brunswick by the end of the 18th century, a time when

Scottish colonization was overflowing into Cape Breton. This was the case even though Scottish ships were sailing from the Clyde to the New Brunswick ports of Saint John and St. Andrews to collect timber, thus providing transport to would-be emigrants.[8] It took the severe economic depression, which followed the ending of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, to kick-start immigration to New Brunswick. The province then experienced a large influx of people during the first half of the 19th century from all parts of Britain, although Irish immigrants greatly outnumbered all other ethnic groups.[9]

In spite of having reasonable quantities of good fertile land, agricultural development was slow and fraught with difficulties. The province oscillated between offering free land grants or insisting on land sales, as it searched for the best compromise between attracting colonizers, discouraging speculators and keeping sweet the various mercantile interests and the elite families who essentially governed the province. While settlers normally had to overcome huge bureaucratic obstacles to acquire land, a speculator like Edward Kendall, from Greenock, who had purchased land at Aroostook (Victoria County) purely as an investment to sell on to a lumber company, could make his fat profit without setting foot in the province.[10] Such men put large tracts of land beyond the reach of ordinary settlers, causing resentment and serious impediments to the progress of colonization.[11] Settlements eventually materialized from a chaotic mishmash of part-land grants and part-land sales and from settlers circumventing the law by seizing possession of their lands through squatting.[12]

The province's long winters seemed also to militate against its agricultural development. During his 1827 tour of British North America, Lieutenant-Colonel Cockburn, who advised the government on colonization matters, noted that in New Brunswick "the greatest inconvenience arising from the length of the winters is the quantity of fodder" required for farm animals, while damage caused to crops by early frosts was also a serious problem.[13] And yet, when Alexander Munro visited the province thirty years later, he was much more optimistic, claiming that the province's climate was "very healthy" and that the high snowfalls, "sometimes as much as five feet," contributed to the fertility of the soil.[14]

Although most Highlanders and Islanders could cope well with a cold climate, the endless, dreary forests were much harder to bear. Because they were used to living by the sea, the miles of splendid coastline offered by Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton and peninsular Nova Scotia gave them a semblance of a home from home. By the same token, New Brunswick's massive forests and land-locked position were far less appealing. Its forests were said to be so dense that even before beginning the task of chopping down trees to create farms, settlers had first to "cut their way in."[15] Little wonder then that New Brunswick was their least favoured choice.

Yet, however gloomy they appeared to the first wave of settlers, the forests were the province's main resource. The large increase in tariffs on Baltic

timber, first introduced by Britain during the Napoleonic Wars, gave North American timber a considerable cost advantage over traditional supplies from the Baltic.16 The trade mushroomed and by 1816 wood products accounted for 90 per cent of the province's exports to Scotland.17 The growth in trade caused the volume of shipping between Scotland and the province to soar, bringing affordable and regular transport to emigrants. As trading links developed, emigrants could simply purchase places in one of the many timber ships that regularly crossed the Atlantic.

Figure 1: Reference Map of Scotland

The timber trade was the driving force of New Brunswick's economy. Even though the industry was regularly plunged into boom and bust conditions, according to the fluctuations of business cycles in Britain, it offered diverse employment opportunities and was a vital component of a settler's livelihood. As Peter Fisher noted in his *History of New Brunswick,* published in 1825, "the woods furnish a sort of simple manufactory for the inhabitants, from which, after attending to their farms in the summer, they can draw returns during the winter for those supplies that are necessary for the comfort of their families."18 For the very poor, it provided the means to earn money to purchase land, although in New Brunswick, there were plenty of lumbermen who never became farmers.

Agricultural development was overshadowed by the timber trade in many parts of New Brunswick, and for people who longed to see neat, cultivated fields, it was an abomination. Joseph Bouchette found the thickly forested areas of Northumberland, Kent and Gloucester counties to be "the thinnest settled and the worst cultivated in the whole province. There is scarcely any collection of houses worthy of the name of a town in any of them."19 There was a wealth of wood but only marginal amounts of farmland and so settlements had spread like long, slender fingers along the coastline and riverbanks.

Scottish Loyalists had dominated the lumbering industries that were established in Charlotte County from as early as 1784; yet they inspired few fellow Scots to join them. However, as the focus of the timber trade moved slowly northward, it began to draw emigrant Scots first to Northumberland and Kent counties and later to Restigouche County. The Scottish influx mirrored the progression of the trade, building on the first footholds that had been established by William Davidson's recruits along the Miramichi River in the late 18th century. When the forests of the Restigouche were cleared in the mid-1820s, the pattern was repeated and once again Scots dominated the early influx. The trade's principal financiers and merchants were Scottish, and in the forefront were Allan Gilmour and Alexander Rankin, both of whom became the great timber barons of their day.

Thus, the remarkably strong links that developed between Scotland and the

northern areas of the province owe much to William Davidson's entrepreneurial talents, but another key factor was the Loyalist influx that began in the late 1780s. A good many men of the disbanded Royal Highland Regiment (42nd), who had settled with their families along the Nashwaak River north of Fredericton, left their allocated holdings and moved northward to join Davidson's recruits in the Miramichi. They brought military discipline and organizational expertise with them and according to Patrick Campbell, a passing visitor, it seems they also came with considerable practical skills:

> Here, I was told that the Highlanders settled up the river were in many respects not a whit better than real Indians, that they would set out in the dead of winter with their guns and dogs, travel into the deepest recesses of distant forests; continue there two or three weeks at a time, sleeping at night in the snow and in the open air; and return with sleds loaded with venison, yet withal were acknowledged to be the most prudent and industrious farmers in all the province of New Brunswick and lived most easily and independent.20

The Highland Loyalists undoubtedly prospered and attracted others to join them. Visitors to the Miramichi in the 1830s were struck by the large numbers of Highlanders who were living around both sides of Miramichi Bay. As ever, their longing to be close to the sea had to be met. Sharing a common desire to preserve their identity and the Gaelic language, they had clearly settled together. Some of them, like the men from the 42nd Regiment, had relocated to the Bay from other parts of the province, and there were some migrants from Prince Edward Island. Nonetheless, this alone does not account for their large numbers. In spite of the fact that there are few recorded ship crossings from Highland ports or even from Greenock for that matter, the assumption must be that many Highlanders emigrated to the Miramichi directly from Scotland during the first half of the 19th century (Appendix I). Because of inadequate data recording on both sides of the Atlantic the actual numbers will never be known.21

The Royal Highland Regiment (42nd) uniform in 1768. This copy is taken from a manuscript in the Prince Consort Library, Aldershot, England, c.1910. *Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada C-043324*.

However, the Miramichi's Scottish links extended well beyond the Highlands and Islands. With the growing introduction of power looms, hand-loom weavers in the southwest Borders were experiencing redundancy and low wages from 1815, and in these adverse conditions many emigrated. The local port of Dumfries provided regular Atlantic crossings to the Miramichi and to Charlottetown, in Prince Edward Island, the two ports from which North American timber was being imported (Figure 1). Consequently, the combination of economic hardship and Dumfries links with these two ports created the sudden influx of emigrants from the southwest Borders to the

eastern Maritimes. With its burgeoning timber trade, New Brunswick attracted many emigrants and for around a decade a steady stream of people, mainly originating from Dumfriesshire, made their way to various parts of the Miramichi in Northumberland County and to the Richibucto area, just to the south in Kent County (Appendix I).22 And such was Richibucto's pulling power that it soon attracted a substantial number of Scots from the part of Prince Edward Island that lay directly opposite it.

As the province's timber trade progressed northward to Restigouche, colonization followed, much of it dominated by Scots. A key factor in the growing Scottish population was the sudden influx of 400 emigrants from the Isle of Arran, which began in 1829. Having been cleared from their lands to make way for sheep farms, they were assisted to emigrate by their landlord, the Duke of Hamilton. As some of the earliest arrivals in the region, they were able to create their new communities within large tracts of wilderness land, which predictably were situated along the coast on Chaleur Bay. By the mid-19th century Restigouche had a predominance of Scots. And, in 1851, when detailed nationality statistics were recorded, Scots represented a staggering 60 per cent of all new arrivals to the Restigouche, making it the only region in the province where Scots predominated over other ethnic groups (Figure 2).23

But, not all Highlanders chose to live in coastal, Gaelic-speaking communities. Business-minded Highlanders, like Marcus Gunn from Thurso, preferred inland locations in populated areas. Having been "forcibly abducted" into Lord Seaforth's Highlanders (78th Regiment) in 1811, he had been able "to inhale the political and social atmosphere of North America," during his period of service at Saint John from 1823 to 1825. Understandably won over by a free society that espoused "principles of liberty, equality and fraternity," he decided there and then to emigrate.24 Going back to Thurso after his discharge, he returned to the province in 1828 with his uncle and, after a brief time in Fredericton, moved to the town of Chatham (Northumberland County) and later to nearby Douglastown where he established himself as a merchant. There would have been many more Scots like Marcus Gunn, who came to the Miramichi to benefit from the opportunities to be had in the province's timber-producing heartland.

The Gunns decided to wait three years before returning with good reason. On October 7, 1825, vast tracts of the Miramichi forests were burnt. The fire destroyed 6,000 square miles of forest, causing devastation as far south as Fredericton and killing 160 people.

Figure 2: Percentage of Scottish-born Immigrants in 1851

Source: Ganong, "Origins of Settlements in the Province of New Brunswick," 76

The prosperous town of Newcastle, with its 269 houses and nearly 1,000

inhabitants, was almost completely destroyed, and only six of the 70 buildings at nearby Douglastown, had escaped the fire. The scale of the disaster was overwhelming:

> More than one hundred miles of the shores of Miramichi are laid waste...from one to two hundred people have perished within immediate observation, and thrice that number are miserably burnt or otherwise wounded...The loss of property is incalculable, for the fire born upon the wings of a hurricane, rushed upon the wretched inhabitants with such inconceivable rapidity that the preservation of their lives could be their only care.
>
> The hurricane raged with such dreadful violence that large bodies of timber on fire, as also trees from the forest and parts of the flaming houses and stores were carried to the rivers with amazing velocity...to occasion large quantities of salmon and other fish to resort to land; hundreds of which were scattered on the shores of the north and west branches.25

Despite the fact that the fire was a severe blow to the region's economy, recovery was swift and within a few years local Presbyterian ministers were sending reports back to Scotland about the new houses and churches being built at Newcastle and the surrounding area. With their growing shipbuilding industries, Newcastle, Chatham and Douglastown attracted many emigrant Scots, although their numbers were minute when compared with Irish arrivals. Many, like Isabella MacKenzie from Inverness, wished to settle in the province because they had received favourable reports from friends. She even went to the extraordinary lengths of falsely claiming to the Colonial Office that her stepson Donald had served in the Sutherland Regiment (93rd), when in fact he was only a boy of seventeen. However small the land grant, it "would be a great blessing to my family" she wrote, but this plea from a destitute widow went unheeded.26

While little altruism was being shown by the Colonial Office, the province's House of Assembly saw fit to allocate public funds, from time to time, to encourage immigration to the province. Funds were provided in 1803 to assist a group of Perthshire emigrants, and even more Perthshire people, as well as some Clyde emigrants, received government subsidies in 1815, with most settling in the southeast of the province. Having received private funds from Scottish Loyalists in St. Andrews, Sutherland and Caithness emigrants also came to the southwest of the province, but as was the case with the Perthshire and Clyde settlers, they soon became assimilated into the mainly English and Irish communities that had formed. Quickly losing their separate identity, they failed to attract any follow-on emigration.

Having had to spend money on encouraging immigration from Scotland in the early years, provincial authorities suddenly had the opposite problem of wondering how they were going to cope with a large surge of new arrivals, who were mainly from Ireland. When some 7,000 destitute immigrants landed

at Saint John in 1819, it was recognized that something had to be done to relieve their wretched condition.27 Funds were raised for needy immigrants at Saint John by Lieutenant-Governor George Stracy Smythe, and at Fredericton a society was formed to assist destitute immigrants living in the immediate area. Formed in 1820, the Fredericton Emigrant Society built a temporary hospital in its first year and twelve years later was planning to construct a Cholera Hospital.28 But, it was only after the great humanitarian crisis of 1846–47, when 26,000 starving and disease-ridden immigrants, who were mainly Irish, arrived at Saint John, that a quarantine station was built in the harbour at Partridge Island. A large alms-house was converted into a hospital but even so, 2,000 people died.29

Another stage in the province's attempts to stimulate the colonization of its untamed wildernesses was the formation of the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company, which began operating in 1834.30 Acquiring much of York County in the west of the province, the company fostered many new settlements like Stanley, which attracted settlers from Northumberland in England as well as from the eastern Borders of Scotland. Despite these successes, the land company brought great notoriety upon itself for its shameful treatment of the Skye crofters who came to grief in their settlement near Stanley.31

Barracks and Market House at Fredericton, 1830–37. Troops were stationed at Fredericton from 1790 to guard the frontier and protect settlers. The Reverend Alexander MacLean, a Presbyterian minister, directed the fire fighting in Fredericton on September 19, 1825, when 80 buildings were burnt, including Government House. The fire, sparked off by an excessive drought, occurred three weeks before the great fire that engulfed the Miramichi. This photomechanical print dates from between 1830 and 1837 and was based on a painting "by a lady." *Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada, Ace. No. 1970-188-2018 IVH. Coverdale Collection of Canadiana.*

Having received a steady flow of immigrants prior to the mid-1830s, the province experienced a fall in numbers, largely due to an economic downturn. While many hundreds of people continued to arrive at Saint John during the 1840s, most immediately moved on to the United States.32 And even though the economic situation improved by the end of the decade, few immigrants sought to settle in the province. Faced with this alarming situation the House of Assembly appointed James Brown as an emigration agent in 1861.33 Undertaking a promotional tour of Scotland to sell the province's merits, Brown made much of his penniless arrival in New Brunswick, his ability to buy a farm seven years later and his subsequent rise to prosperity and public acclaim. It was a dream come true for his audiences and yet few people responded. Strangely, a sea captain, by the name of William Brown, cultivated a huge following from the northeast of Scotland a decade later simply by selling the notion of family emigration. In all, some seven hundred emigrants followed William Brown to Victoria County in the northwest of the province where they founded New Kincardineshire, named after their home county. It was one of the largest groups ever to reach to New Brunswick.

Religion was always an abiding and powerful force throughout this emigration saga. Presbyterians were fortunate in having funds and ministers provided to them by the Glasgow Colonial Society, a body that helped to build Church of Scotland congregations in this and other provinces.[34] Nevertheless, Presbyterian preachers faced stiff competition from Baptists, Methodists and the Church of England, the latter being the province's largest denomination.[35] Travelling many miles in gruelling conditions, the Society's ministers brought the word of God and a comforting presence to scattered communities, and in doing so helped emigrant Scots maintain a kind of solidarity with their homeland. And in dealing with Highlanders, ministers had to be able to speak Gaelic, since both their language and religion were important to them—truly virtually inseparable.

The Reverend Alexander MacLean, the first of the Presbyterian ministers to arrive, savoured every minute of his time in Charlotte County. Travelling from one end of the province to the other, he set up various Sabbath Schools, sampled a lumber camp for a few days and turned up at Miramichi Bay at the time of the great fire to help organize the relief efforts there. On the other hand, the Reverend Peter Mclntyre, who found the "dreary wilderness" of Charlotte County quite intolerable, remained in post for only five years.[36] The Reverend James Souter at Newcastle, and the Reverend Hannay at Richibucto, presided over large, sprawling congregations having several hundred people, yet still found time to visit far-flung locations, while the longest-serving minister, the Reverend James Steven, another dogged traveller, looked after his Restigouche flock for some 33 years.

The timber trade gave emigrant Scots an important source of income, and their spiritual and cultural values enabled them to cope with the harsh physical conditions of pioneer life. These twin themes of "axe and bible" keep recurring. For the people, whose story is now about to be told, they were the bedrock upon which their success as early pioneers was founded. They hacked out their first communities from the forest and went on to achieve great success as farmers. They also made a considerable contribution to the province's early economic development and laid down a rich seam of Scottish culture along the way.

CHAPTER TWO

LOYALIST ARRIVALS

The Province of New Brunswick was separated from Nova Scotia...at which time a number of our countrymen, particularly from the 42nd Regiment, were located by the Government on the River Nashwalk [Nashwaak], a small river which falls into the River St. John nearly opposite Fredericton.[1]

When the Reverend James Thomson came to the Miramichi region in the mid-1820s, local people told him about the men from the Royal Highland Regiment (42nd) who had been allocated land along the Nashwaak River after the American War of Independence had ended in defeat for the British in 1783. They were among the many thousands of Loyalists who had settled in that part of North America still remaining under British control. In all, around 40,000 Loyalists received land grants and financial help under the British Loyalist assistance program. The Maritime region acquired about 35,000 of them, with the largest concentrations settling along the fertile valley of the St. John River and in the southwestern peninsula of Nova Scotia.[2] Most of the remaining 5,000 Loyalists went to the old province of Quebec and settled in what became Upper Canada, when the separate provinces of Upper and Lower Canada were created in 1791.

The British government had long realized that soldiers, who had seen action in earlier campaigns, could provide some form of military backup once they were resettled. Its policy was to move ex-servicemen and their families to vulnerable areas along boundaries and major rivers in the hope that they would act as guardians and protectors of territory. Because it was of prime military importance, the Bay of Fundy region had acquired particularly large numbers of Loyalists. In fact, the Loyalist influx had an explosive impact on the Maritime region's population. Although few Loyalists went to the Island of St. John (later Prince Edward Island)[3] or Cape Breton,[4] around 20,000 people were suddenly added to the permanent population of Nova Scotia. New Brunswick, which was divided from the peninsula as a separate colony in 1784, suddenly acquired some fifteen thousand or so Loyalists. Located as they were on both sides of the Bay of Fundy, these Loyalist settlers, taken together, doubled the population of peninsular Nova Scotia and swelled the

population count, to the north of the bay, by fivefold.5

Plaque marking the Loyalist (Provincials) Burial Ground at St. Anne's (later Fredericton). In 1783, ex-servicemen and their families spent their first winter at this, the site of an early Acadian settlement. The extreme cold, miserable living conditions and inadequate food contributedv to many deaths. *Photograph by Geoff Campey*.

Around half of the New Brunswick Loyalists were the families of the soldiers who had served in around twenty of the fifty provincial corps that had been formed during the American Rebellion and were now disbanded. They became known as the "Provincials" to distinguish them from civilian refugees, although the difference is not always clear, since many civilians had also served in regiments during the war.6 Ex-soldiers were allocated land according to rank, ranging from 1,000 acres for officers to 100 acres for privates, while civilians usually received 100 acres for each head of family and 50 additional acres for every person belonging to the family.7

Some 90 per cent of the Loyalists who settled in the new province of New Brunswick were American-born and most originated from the middle colonies of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut.8 Apart from a small group from the Penobscot district who had simply crossed Passamaquoddy Bay from what is now Maine, almost all of the New Brunswick Loyalists had sailed at government expense from New York City to the mouth of the St. John River. While the majority of the military Loyalists were assigned lands along the river above Fredericton,9 civilians were directed mainly to the lower Saint John and Passamaquoddy districts.10 (Figure 3) However, few Loyalists remained where they had first settled. Poor organization, administrative bungling and an on-going desire for a better situation were among the factors that caused the constant movement of Loyalists within the province.

Figure 3: Loyalist Concentrations in 1785

Source: Ganong, "Origins of Settlements in the Province of New Brunswick," 53

Eventually most of the military Loyalists, who had been allocated land in the upper St. John Valley, were to move downriver and settle among the civilian refugees in the lower valley.11 Having the finest harbour on the north side of the Bay of Fundy, together with extensive internal waterways, the mouth of the St. John River attracted many inhabitants. The neighbouring towns of Parr and Carleton grew in size and by 1785 they became incorporated as the City of Saint John. Six years later Saint John was said to be "a well-planned town" of about 500 houses.12 Meanwhile, a few Loyalists relocated themselves to the Restigouche region. Some had originally settled along the St. John River while others came from the north side of Chaleur Bay, in Lower Canada. There they joined eight Scottish fishermen who had

arrived in Restigouche before the Revolutionary War had even begun, leading to the supposition that these were Scottish Loyalists.13

Memorial Stone to the United Empire Loyalists at the gate of the Old Burial Ground in St. Anne's (later Fredericton). Fredericton was chosen as the capital of the province in 1785, being the furthest point on the St. John River that could be reached by large vessels. It was named after Prince Frederick, the third son of King George III. *Photograph by Geoff Campey*.

The Restigouche fishermen, who originated from Aberdeen, had been recruited by the London firm of Shoolbred and Smith to work in a salmon fishery that was being established along the south side of the Restigouche River. Arriving from 1770, some of them later settled at what became Campbellton.14 It was a similar story along the Miramichi River. The prospect of its good fishing opportunities had brought the Morayshire-born William Davidson15 and John Cort of Aberdeenshire to the Miramichi Valley in 1765. They, too, would establish a salmon fishery and in so doing would attract many fellow-Scots to the region. Davidson had learned "the intricate details of the catching, curing and marketing of fish" at the salmon fisheries on the Spey River, which were being leased from the Duke of Gordon.16 These fisheries, together with the herring fisheries along the Morayshire coast, had employed over 100 men.

To their dismay, Davidson and Cort had to accept the stringent settlement conditions that were attached to their grant. This was a huge tract of 100,000 acres, which extended westward from near present-day Newcastle along two branches of the Miramichi River. Davidson, who held two-thirds of the grant, and Cort, one-third, were required "to plant, cultivate, improve or enclose" one-third of the grant (33,333 acres) within ten years and "to settle one quarter of the grant (25,000 acres) each year for the first four years in the proportion of one Protestant settler for every two acres."17 While such settlement regulations may have made sense to Whitehall bureaucrats, they were completely absurd when applied to the Miramichi. Its farmland would only ever be able to support a relatively sparse population. Moreover, since Davidson and Cort's prime interest was to found a fishery, they had little interest in attracting people to farm their land. Predictably the business partners failed miserably in meeting the government's settlement terms. Nevertheless, Davidson quickly applied himself to the task of establishing the desired fishery.

Upon receiving his grant, Davidson went immediately to New England where he recruited 20 to 30 men and also persuaded fellow-Scots from Banffshire, Aberdeenshire and Inverness-shire to join his workforce.18 In order to provide year-round employment he used his men also to cut timber, thus laying the foundations of the region's lucrative timber trade. By 1773 he had constructed the 300-ton *Miramichi,* his first ship, and the first ever to be built on the river.19 Then, suddenly he had to curtail his activities when his property was raided by marauding troops during the American War of Independence. Moving inland to Maugerville, near Fredericton, with most of

his workers, Davidson left John Cort in charge of his interests at the Miramichi, but sometime during the war Cort died.20 It was during a visit to Halifax, while based in Maugerville, that Davidson made a chance discovery that the British Navy was seeking pine masts to build ships.

TABLE 1

William Davidson's and John Cort's Settlers at Miramichi in 1785

[Ganong, W.F., "Historical-Geographical Documents Relating to New Brunswick," in *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, Vol. 9 (1914) 314-15.]

Returning with his group to the Miramichi in 1785, after the war ended, Davidson extended his timber trade operations to supply masts. He then recruited his workforce principally by attracting Scottish Loyalists from other parts of the province.21 "People chiefly from Speyside [Morayshire]" also came to the Miramichi directly from Scotland at this time, joining the settlers from Banffshire, Aberdeenshire and Inverness-shire whom Davidson had recruited ten years earlier.22 However, this second group settled along the lower stretch of the Miramichi River and Bay, just to the east of Davidson and Cort's tract of land. They included Robert Logie and his wife Margery Hay, who arrived in 1779 with their four children, John Malcolm,23 who came in 1776, Alexander Henderson, who arrived that same year with a wife and seven children, together with seven other families whom Henderson had brought out at his own expense.24

Other people from Banffshire, Morayshire and Nairnshire, who were reported to have emigrated just before the American War ended, may also have ended up along the Miramichi River.25 This undoubted concentration of Scots from areas close to Davidson's place of birth, in the northeast of Scotland, is significant (Figure 1). Reports of Davidson's success in establishing his various enterprises are likely to have percolated back to his friends and relatives in Scotland. Yet his principal appeal was probably to fishermen and skilled craftsmen. Because Davidson only offered tenancies, he had little to offer to prospective farmers who are likely to have wanted freeholds.

In spite of the settlement regulations that loomed over him, his overriding concern was to find workers for his sawmill, shipyard and fishery. It was only after serving as one of his employees for a period that men were ever leased land on which to settle. Thus, land clearance for its own sake was low on Davidson's list of priorities. His absence of five-and-one-half years "had been sufficient time for the forest to reclaim most of the cleared lands..," thus making his paltry colonization efforts virtually useless.26 A further complication was the bickering that soon developed among local inhabitants.

Having been "exposed to raids by the American privateers" and faced with desperate food shortages, conditions for the few families who had remained in the region during the war had been "almost unbearable."[27] When Davidson and his group returned from Maugerville they were greeted by an outpouring of resentment and bitterness. "Jealousies and rivalries over the fisheries, grants of land and the rights of cutting timber sprang up and were not always peaceably settled."[28]

To add to his difficulties, Davidson had to spend considerable amounts in re-establishing his various enterprises. He extended £5,000 worth of credit to his settlers for clothing, fishing gear and food and spent another £5,000 on buildings and equipment.[29] Nonetheless, this scale of investment made no impression on the government investigators who ruled in 1785 that Davidson had failed to meet the conditions of his land grant. Having been required to find one Protestant settler for every two acres, Davidson and Cort between them could only point to thirty-two settled families. Although Davidson's workers numbered about 50, they were not counted since they did not hold any land. There were only seventeen settlers on the Northwest Miramichi River and fifteen on the Southwest Miramichi River and together they had cleared only 100 acres (Table 1).[30] Their scattered holdings stretched some 13 miles on both sides of both branches of the Miramichi River beginning at the east end of Beaubears Island.[31] The settlers included William More, who had been living in the region from 1769, four families who had arrived by the mid-1770s, some Loyalists, a few settlers from Scotland and some Scots who had migrated from Prince Edward Island.[32]

Davidson asked for two years in which to find the requisite number of settlers, but his request was turned down. Although his land was forfeited, he was given a smaller grant of 14,540 acres, which included his stores, shipyard, sawmill and fishery.[33] And despite the loss of much of his land, Davidson continued to recruit settlers. By 1786 there were 40 families living on his property. However, disaster struck in February 1790. When out walking on snowshoes, he was caught in a severe snowstorm and nearly froze to death while seeking shelter in a stack of marsh hay. Four months later he died at the age of 50, leaving a widow and five children. Patrick Campbell, who visited the Miramichi soon after Davidson's death, pronounced that "he was the first settler in this place and to him it was owing that many settlements thereafter took place."[34]

Modern stone showing inscription on William Davidson's tombstone. His grave at Wilson's Point (Derby Junction) overlooks the confluence of the northwest and southwest branches of the Miramichi River. Some of the first Scots who joined him are also buried here. The Scottish Heritage Association (Miramichi) has been working since 2002 to restore this historic cemetery. *Photograph by Geoff Campey*.

Although Davidson's record in attracting settlers seemed abysmal at the

time, numbers grew when Scottish Loyalists in the immediate area began relocating to the Miramichi. Its wider river frontages and sizeable Scottish communities were the principal attractions. The largest group to come to the region were the families of ex-servicemen from the disbanded Royal Highland Regiment (42nd), who had been allocated land along the Nashwaak River, to the north of Fredericton.35 Having received a grant of just over 11,000 acres on both sides of the river on behalf of himself and 111 fellow officers and soldiers, Lieutenant Dugald Campbell had organized their settlements (Table 2).36

When he met the Nashwaak settlers in 1791–92, Patrick Campbell found "them happily situated, each on his own property," although they complained of a shortage of women for their young men. "They begged me to recommend some hundreds of them to come and...they should all get husbands or masters before they should be three weeks in the country."37 Yet, when the Reverend James MacGregor met them nearly fifteen years later, he learned that some of the settlers had left the area because of their dissatisfaction with their land grants.38 Some had left almost immediately for more populated areas nearer Saint John while others relocated to the Miramichi. Land grant evidence reveals that at least nineteen of the original Nashwaak settlers subsequently moved to the Miramichi and that eleven others moved elsewhere.39

TABLE 2

Men from the Royal Highland Regiment (42nd) Who Were Granted Land on the Nashwaak River in 1787

Other Scots who had served with the Macdonald Highlanders Regiment (76th), the North Carolina Volunteers and the Queen's Rangers in the American War, also rejected their initial land allocations in favour of the Miramichi.40 In all, between 80 and 100 Loyalists, who were mainly Scots, moved to the Miramichi during the late 18th century although not all remained permanently.41

Gateway to the Royal Highland Regiment (42nd) Memorial Cemetery at Pleasant Valley on Highway 8, midway between Nashwaak Bridge and Taymouth. *Photograph by Geoff Campey.*

The Miramichi was not the only area to attract Scottish Loyalists. The timber reserves and fertile land along the Penobscot River,42 appealed to a

large group of Scots, who moved there from what is now Portland, Maine. Being mainly Scottish timber merchants and general traders, they moved to this location in 1775 after learning that a Loyalist haven was being established at the mouth of the river. Four years later Fort George was built, thus offering the group the added protection of a British garrison. The group's leading members, the Glasgow-born Robert Pagan and his two brothers, William and Thomas, were long standing timber exporters and shipbuilders.43 Having re-established their business enterprises at this new site, the settlers faced grim news in 1783 when the American War ended. A boundary change, which was agreed upon in the peace treaty, designated the St. Croix River rather than the Penobscot River as the new boundary line between the United States and British North America. As a consequence, their site was on the American side of the boundary and the group was forced to move yet again.

Anticipating that this boundary change was going to occur, Robert Pagan and his brothers had gathered intelligence from their various business contacts on the suitability of other locations. They concluded that the north side of the Passamaquoddy Bay offered the best prospects. Naming Robert Pagan as their main spokesman, the so-called Penebscot Association established their new community at what subsequently became the town of St. Andrews (Charlotte County).44 Given that they numbered 700 people, the Association represented a significant addition to the Loyalist population of New Brunswick.45 In the summer of 1784, some 19,000 acres were granted to Stephen Roberts and 189 other members of the Association, in six separate blocks that stretched along the shoreline of the Passamaquoddy Bay and its connecting rivers.46 By May of that same year it was noted that 90 houses were being built and that there were "great preparations" to build more.47 William Pagan could hardly contain his excitement when he told a friend that the Association's land abounded "with large quantities of hard wood, all kinds of pine timber of a large growth" and was "very handy to the water where most vessels can safely anchor."48

TABLE 3

Men from the Argyll Highlanders Regiment (74th) Who Were Granted Lots by the Digdeguash River (St. Andrews) in 1790 [PANB (F743) 523-5: James Vroom fonds]

Eastern Division

1, 2 Archibald Williamson
3 Robert McLellan
4 John Hewey
5 Alex. McTavish
6 Donald Mallock
7 John Mcllroy
8 Alex. McRae
9 Robert McLellan
10 John Johnson
11 David Craig
12, 13 Peter Fisher
14, 15, 16 Duncan McFarlane

17 Robert Lindsay
18 Donald McLellan
19 John McFarlane
20 Donald Carmichael
21 Alex. McArthur
22 Hugh Cameron
23 Angus McDonald
24 Alex. McRae
25 Angus McDonald
26 Hugh Stuart
27 (Reserved)
28 William Row
29 James Stewart
30 John Mcllroy
31 William Stewart
32 Alex. Cameron
33 David Craig
34–35 Hugh Stewart
36–37 Donald McDonald
38–39 William Gallop
40–41 Thomas Fitzsimmons

Western Division

1 David Little
2 John Watt
3 Robert Sellars
4 Peter McDiarmid
5 Hugh Cameron
6 Robert Cowey
7 John McPhail
8 Mark Lumsdane
9 Alex. McRae
10–11 John Scott
12 Peter McLellan
13 James Long
14 John Cockburn
15 Alex. Cameron
16–17 Roderick McLellan
18 Donald McLean
19 Peter McDiarmid
20 Dougal Carmichael
21 William Dow
22 John Dick
23 Isaac McRae
24 Angus McDonald
25–27 Hugh Stuart

The site had many natural advantages and this was no doubt why it had been chosen. Lieutenant Colin Campbell, of the Argyll Highlanders Regiment (74th), who was based at Fort George, learned from "the people we sent to look at these lands" that "the place intended for a town has a good harbour and is well situated for the fishing and lumbering business."[49] This feedback taken together with "some unfavourable accounts of Port Rose-way" [Shelburne], convinced him that he should "remove to Passamaquoddy."[50]

Meanwhile, the St. Andrews settlers pressed the British government rigidly to enforce the Navigation Acts in order to exclude American traders from the lucrative trade with the British West Indies. Having achieved this, they made plans "to supply the whole British West India Islands with boards, plank, scantling, ranging timber, shingles, clap boards and every species of lumber that can be shipped from any part of New England, oak staves excepted."[51] By 1784 timber cargoes were regularly being sent to the West Indies.

The Penebscot Association quickly prospered and became one of the most successful of the Loyalist settlements. Although William Pagan had assisted in resettling 430 families at St. Andrews, he did not stay there. Moving to Saint John, he and his brother Thomas co-founded a major import/export company and Saint John became Williams abode for the remainder of his life.[52] However, Robert Pagan remained and established himself as the most prominent merchant and shipbuilder in the Passamaquoddy region and, in Patrick Campbell's view, became the "life and soul of St. Andrews."[53]

Linked with the Penobscot Association in St. Andrews were some disbanded servicemen from the Argyll Highlanders Regiment (74th), who had been stationed at Fort George to protect the Loyalist community during their sojourn along the Penobscot River. Arriving in the Passamaquoddy Bay area in March 1784, they were accommodated in the towns of St. George and St. Andrews while their lands were being surveyed. This, the so-called Seventy-Fourth Association, included 125 men, 32 wives and 48 children.[54] By 1790 some fifty-five of them had received lots, which were located on both sides of the Digdeguash River (Table 3).[55] In spite of this auspicious beginning, a good many of them sold their land and either left the district or moved to nearby towns.

Scottish numbers in the Passamaquoddy region may have been raised even further by the arrival of men from the Royal Highland Emigrants Regiment (84th) and the North Carolina Highlanders. A provisions listing, produced in December 1783, reveals that as many as 60 men from the 84th Regiment were leaving Halifax for Passamaquoddy Bay, suggesting that another sizeable Scottish influx was about to take place.[56] Yet, apart from a group who settled near Lake Utopia in St. George (Charlotte County)[57] and the few who are known to have been allocated land in Charlotte County, most men from the 84th Regiment eventually settled in Nova Scotia.[58]

Loyalists drawing lots for their lands, 1784. Watercolour by C.W. Jefferys. *Courtesy of Government of Ontario Art Collection, Archives of Ontario*.

The government's policy of moving large numbers of Loyalists to the province brought about major demographic and economic changes, but stimulated little follow-on immigration from Britain. The great number of Loyalists who streamed into New Brunswick created an instant population, but their relocation was far from straightforward. These were defeated and demoralised refugees who had come down in the world with a jolt. Having

left relative comfort back in the United States, they faced the daunting and strenuous task of having to hack out a farm for themselves in some wilderness. There were severe delays in acquiring land and many hurdles to overcome in coping with the province's complex land administration procedures.[59] Nevertheless, on the positive side, Loyalists were entitled to food and clothing as well as farming and building supplies, in addition to their land allocations, so they were better off than non-Loyalists who received no financial support.[60] Yet this too had its downsides. Resentful and antagonistic neighbours who were jealous of their provisioning and other advantages, could make their lives a misery. Greatly disillusioned, many Loyalists simply gave up, and, of those who left, most went back to the United States.[61]

New Brunswick's chief economic importance lay in its rich pine forests. The trade in masts for the British Navy, the most valuable commodity, had begun in the late 18th century, but this rapidly changed into a more general trade as the demand for North American timber increased. Timber exports doubled between 1785 and 1800, and by the turn of the century, more than half of the province's exports to Scotland derived from timber.[62] The Miramichi and St. John River Valley would eventually become the prime timber-producing regions, but initially forest exploitation was concentrated in the southwest of the province in Charlotte County. In the forefront of this trade were the Scottish merchants and traders of the Penobscot Association, who had organized the thriving communities that were growing at St. Andrews. With its strong Scottish presence and a booming timber trade, it was not long before Charlotte County began experiencing its first influx of immigrants from Scotland.

CHAPTER THREE

EARLY FOREST CLEARINGS: THE CHARLOTTE COUNTY SCOTS

In the Fall of 1805 they moved into the wilderness, carrying their children on their backs and their various necessaries, such as they had, in the same way as they had long done.[1]

These families were proceeding to what would become Scotch Ridge in St. James Parish. This was a group of twenty-five former soldiers with their families, who originated from Assynt and Eddrachilles in Sutherland.[2] The heads of family were former members of the Reay Fencibles Regiment who had served in Ireland during the 1798 Rebellion against British rule.[3] Their regiment was disbanded in 1802, and by the following year the families were on a ship bound for Wilmington, North Carolina. However, fate had intervened during their sea crossing. They learned from someone on a passing ship that "yellow fever was raging in New York."[4]

Changing direction, they headed for Maine where they hoped to find suitable land, but none was available. Undeterred, they moved on again in search of "a large tract of land back of Digby, Nova Scotia." Sadly for them this, too, was beyond their grasp since so much of the land in Digby had already been "taken up in blocks by rich men"[5] However, when news of the group's plight spread to St. Andrews, on Passamaquoddy Bay, their prospects improved considerably. Given that "most of the men of wealth in St. Andrews were Scotch" it was hardly surprising that they would wish to help their compatriots. The businessmen immediately hired a schooner at their own expense and brought the Highlanders back to Charlotte County, where they "built a little village of log houses on the bank of the river until they could do better."[6]

The arrival of these Highlanders in 1803 was an unusual event, coming as they did more by chance than by plan. The Passamaquoddy Bay region already had a substantial Scottish population as a result of the relocation of the Penobscot Association of Loyalists to the region in 1784, but it was not being augmented to any extent by further immigration from Scotland. British settlers only began arriving in Charlotte County in any numbers after 1815,

and those who came originated mostly from Ireland.7 Thus, the Sutherland arrivals were an unexpected bonus. Nova Scotia and Cape Breton would win their favour in later years, especially during the peak emigration period after the Napoleonic Wars, but for the moment they could see advantages in remaining in New Brunswick.8 Local Scots rose to the occasion and welcomed them with open arms. Under Robert Pagan's direction, the sum of £134.13s. lid. was raised to finance their relocation expenses. The group consisted of 116 people, including four families from Digby, Nova Scotia, who had their passages paid from Digby (Table 4).9

A local St. Andrews man, Donald MacDonald, "being a real Highlander, a lawyer and a Crown Land Surveyor" carried out the land survey and by 1805 produced a plan for "the location of the Scots emigrants."10 The Sutherland emigrants then proceeded to their lots at Scotch Ridge, although MacDonald was still refining his plan in 1809.11 Up to this point Scotch Ridge had been in the Parish of St. Stephen, but, in 1813, when the parish was divided, the northern and larger section became the new Parish of St. James.12 Writing to their friends in United States and Nova Scotia about the region's good lumbering and farming opportunities, they attracted followers who later colonized the area to the south west of Scotch Ridge, which they called Little Ridge.13 Later on, the Sutherland settlers went on to extend their territory even more when they established further communities to the north of Scotch Ridge at Oak Hill, Basswood Ridge and Pomeroy Ridge (Figure 4).14

The Sutherland settlers were helped by two local merchants—Joseph Porter and Colin Campbell,15 who "both had stores. Whatever the settlers wanted, they could have for labour or otherwise pay whenever they were able. Seldom would they employ any other than the immigrants."16 Colin Campbell, who succeeded Donald MacDonald as Crown Land Surveyor, laid out the Oak Hill site, which experienced a crop failure in 1813–14 and a near famine a year later. However, the various communities survived and by 1825 were planning to build their first church. It was to be 42 feet by 36 feet with an end gallery and a tower. "A Gaelic preacher, who laboured a few years in Pictou" then arrived unexpectedly, offered to give them "a few weeks preaching."17 He was received "with joy," but a division soon occurred in the congregation over his suitability. According to the Reverend Peter Mclntyre, who arrived later, the Pictou minister "turned out to be a very bad character."18 Initially, the congregation wished to keep him and so did their principal leader, "the aged elder of Sutherlandshire...who seemed to have the Bible by heart although he knew no letters nor English."19 The minister thus remained although four dissenting elders and their families disagreed vehemently with his appointment. The conflict was resolved by giving the congregation and the dissenting elders sole access to the church in alternating six month periods. This caused great strain on the congregation, which slowly began to divide its support between both factions. Faced with this pressure, the aged elder relented in 1830 and "confessed his error of his own accord." A majority of

the congregation wanted rid of their minister by then and were pleased that he would at long last "take his leave." The Reverend Alexander MacLean, "a good Gaelic scholar" who was based in St. Andrews, visited them soon after and "succeeded in calming the storm," thus paving the way for the Reverend Peter Mclntyre to take charge of the congregation in 1833.20

Double-bladed axes (Central New Brunswick Woodmen's Museum, Boiestown). These axes were used to hack out trails in the forest. One edge was sharpened for cutting while the other was left blunt for grubbing up roots. *Photograph by Lucille Campey. Taken by kind permission at Central New Brunswick Woodmen's Museum.*

With Colin Campbell's help, funds were raised for their new church, which eventually had "a handsome spire,"21 while the Greenock Church congregation in St. Andrews also contributed £75 towards its construction.22 Yet again Campbell, who was by then the editor of the *Courant,* had proved to be "a never failing friend."23 The Reverend James MacGregor of Pictou, who first visited the Scotch Ridge site in 1810, had noticed "the feeling of attachment" felt by the Sutherland settlers to both Campbell and Joseph Porter. "It exists in their children and I doubt not [it] will go down to the third or fourth generation."24

The Reverend Peter Mclntyre presided over a substantial congregation, but he was not a happy man. He found the locality to be "very unpleasant. I am ten miles from the salt water, immersed in the middle of the forest where I have no society whatever. In fact the whole parish, notwithstanding its population of 800, is little better than a wilderness."25 By then the population was concentrated in and around Scotch Ridge in the south of the parish and at Oak Hill on the north side. The church, "an elegant wooden building capable of accommodating nearly 400 people," was located at the southern end "so that nearly one half of the population, of nearly 400 souls are cut off from all religious instruction, except what I can give them on week days."26 However, it was "one of the most orderly congregations in the Province" and every Sabbath the Reverend Mclntyre preached in both Gaelic and English.27 When he left in 1837, the Glasgow Colonial Society specified that his replacement had to be able to "speak Gaelic."28

Figure 4: Scottish Concentrations in Charlotte County, 1851

Meanwhile, the Reverend Mclntyre had also taken charge of religious services in St. Stephen Parish just to the south. "I often preach in St. Stephen [village] on Sabbath evenings after officiating first in my own church. This is a fast flourishing village within ten miles of me, situated on the banks of the St. Croix River and at the head of the tide."29 Ex-soldiers from the Argyll Highlanders (74th), who arrived as Loyalists, had founded Milltown, the parish's other principal village, deriving its name from the many sawmills that

were situated along its riverbanks (Figure 4).30 Taken together, both villages were reported to have about 500 Presbyterians, "or persons who would become such under favourable circumstances."31 In the early 1840s, the St. Stephen's congregation was sufficiently robust to be able to employ its first pastor, the Reverend Andrew Stevens, who presided over services initially in the old Methodist Church and afterwards in a room over a store.32 The congregation had its first Presbyterian church constructed by 1850 and ten years later it was building an even larger second church.33

Because the St. Croix River offered excellent waterpower sites, the western end of the County was a particularly important sawmilling district, with the highest concentration of mills lying in the Parish of St. Stephen.34 John McKinzie wrote home in 1815, raving about the good wage rates to be had in the area: "Hired men is very high here—wages is from £5 to £6 per month, women that is capable of keeping home has 17s. 6d. and very scarce to be had...timber sells very high this season from $5 to $6 per ton, but it will be plenty another year for the whole country is going to be employed in getting timber this winter if the season will answer."35 In 1822, George and Robert Sterling, two brothers from Dunbartonshire who had served in the 88th Regiment of Foot, requested a land grant in St. Stephen "on the River Croix," believing that the lands were "well-adapted for agricultural purposes."36 By 1830 the sawmills in the small area of Charlotte County, to the west of St. Andrews, would be producing around 20% of the province's annual lumber output.37 Twenty years later the County would have sixteen hundred men working on 97 sawmills, of which 37 would be in St. Stephen, each employing about 40 men.38

As forest clearance progressed in Charlotte County, communities formed around the Passamaquoddy Bay and along the lower St. Croix River. Thin lines of settlement also followed the St. Andrews to St. John River Road and the middle stretches of the Magaguadavic River going northward. Population densities were particularly high in the three adjoining parishes of St. Andrews, St. David and St. Stephen, on the west side of the county, but even here agriculture remained secondary to lumbering.39 The town of St. Andrews, with its port on the Passamaquoddy Bay, was second only to Saint John in population and economic importance, and, as was the case at Saint John, it too had been vulnerable to attack during the 1793 war between England and France. Governor Thomas Carleton formed the King's New Brunswick Regiment to defend the province, but although privateer vessels sailing under French colours caused considerable havoc, no actual attack took place. The boldest attempt was made at St. Andrews in 1795 when *La Solide,* a French-armed vessel with a partially American crew, sailed into the Passamaquoddy Bay. When the crew disembarked they were seized by the local militia, who imprisoned them and captured their vessel.40

Charlotte County's timber trade, which had first been established by the Penobscot Association Loyalists, quickly flourished and by 1800 it was the

province's leading timber producer. Although much of the early trade was with the West Indies, some timber was also being exported elsewhere overseas. By then, Greenock ships were making regular crossings to St. Andrews to collect timber cargoes.41 Being close to the American border, the county's merchants could easily circumvent trade restrictions and customs regulations and sell goods in the lucrative black market that operated in the United States. They also enjoyed preferential trading privileges for the sale of their timber in the West Indies. However, in 1821, when the tariff advantage of colonial timber was reduced, business confidence began to decline. And legislation, passed in 1823, allowing the West Indies to import American timber, or other foreign timber, was an even greater blow to local timber exporters.42 The St. Andrews jail was said to be full of "the most respectable men," who could not meet their obligations. Their sad predicament was blamed on the demise of the Charlotte County timber trade.43 Yet, the economy recovered quickly and timber exports to Britain soon soared ahead. By 1835 "a large trade in the staple commodity of the colony" was being pursued at St. Andrews:

> Numerous saw-mills have been erected on the rivers and hundreds of thousands of tons of forest produce are annually floated down them. This produce is eventually transported to the West Indies, in the shape of boards and shingles, and to the United Kingdom, in the shape of deals44 and squared timber."45

TABLE 4

List of 25 Scottish Families Who Were Settled in Charlotte County in 1804

[PANB MC 1672: Surveyor General's Papers.]

Account of Money paid by John Campbell to 25 families of Scotch Emigrants who arrived at St. Andrews and settled in Charlotte County. Nov. 1804.

Balance due to D. Macdonald Esqr., Deputy Surveyor, for his expenses and services in locating the lands £9 12s 4d.

View of the Town of St. Andrews with its magnificent harbour and bay, c.1840. Coloured lithograph by Frederick Wells. *Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada C-016386.*

When the Reverend Alexander MacLean, St. Andrews' first Presbyterian minister, arrived in 1825 he found "many settlements [to be] entirely Scottish, and Presbyterianism, in no small degree pervading the general mass of the population."46 Presbyterians were to be found in greatest numbers along the Lower St. Croix River. "Our contiguity to the United States, and the copious sprinkling of Scottish emigrants among us, may account for this," although some people "may have joined the church rather than be without the peculiar

ordinances of religion," there being an "almost total absence of kirks" in the area. Such was the "thirst...for Gospel Ordinances," that some "communicants travelled to a distance of thirty miles—some of them forty" to attend church services.47

Greenock Church in St. Andrews, which had been opened for regular worship a year earlier, was said to be "a very elegant and commodious structure of wood, 55 feet long by 55 feet wide, and surmounted by a handsome spire." Capable of seating 500 people, the interior was finished "by a judicious intermixture of the richest mahogany and bird's eye maple."48 It was built with a £5,000 donation from Christopher Scott, a wealthy local businessman, who was commemorated on the front of the church tower by a painting of "a spreading oak tree, emblem of Greenock Scotland, the home of Christopher Scott."49 Robert Pagan also contributed £100 towards the building of the church.50

Shortly before returning home to Scotland, the Reverend MacLean departed from his normal schedule and spent a few days at a nearby lumber camp in St. David Parish, just to the north of St. Andrews. There he met the farmer/lumberers who, having tended to their farms in the summer, were chopping down trees in the winter for cash payments. These were the men who did the hazardous work of cutting and floating timber to the loading areas of the bay. He observed that:

> an enterprising farmer makes an arrangement with a timber merchant at a shipping station, whereby the timber merchant furnishes him and his gang, or gangs, of eight or a dozen men each, with provisions and other necessaries, taking in return the timber and sawn logs of the lumberer, and paying him, in Spring, the difference in the value received. The lumberer, together with his gangs, cattle, and provisions, disappears amidst the solitude of the unbroken forest, perhaps fifty miles from his home; rough-builds with trunks of trees a hovel for his oxen, and a camp for his men—roofs them with spruce-bark—divides the camp into two equal compartments, (one for cooking, and the other for sleeping,) by a stout plank bench running lengthways from end to end—overspreads the common dormitory nearly two feet thick with the pliant twigs of the lofty Hemlock—and by an enormous fire, defies the uttermost efforts of the sternest North American winter.51

In his travels to Fredericton, the Reverend MacLean had "more than once camped out...at night, in these rude habitations, sleeping soundly and warmly inside, with the thermometer outside, far below zero; and the moon and stars shining brightly in on us, through the large aperture in the roof, by which the smoke was escaping." It was, for him, a memorable experience:

> Having constructed their domicile, the sharp sound of the levelling axe daily reverberates through the dense forest....The oxen haul the timber, as

> soon as hewed, on the slippery surface of the beaten snow, to the nearest brook, one of the feeders of the nearest river, where it is yarded on the ice, until the grand break-up of ice and winter together, in the end of March or the beginning of April; when the dissolution of the vast body of snow that had overspread the country, swells the smallest rivulets into impetuous torrents; carrying the ponderous products of these romantic winter expeditions, down into the main rivers. I have seen rafts on the St. John, containing from ten to twenty thousand tons of timber.52

Although the parish of St. Andrews became a Scottish stronghold from the time of the Loyalist influx, it actually acquired very few emigrant Scots in the decades that followed. The Reverend MacLean preached to small groups of newly-arrived Scots in his immediate area, but probably few were settling in St. Andrews itself. In 1815, when the *Favourite* of Saint John sailed from Port Glasgow to Saint John with 133 passengers who had left Scotland "for want of employment," only a handful settled in St. Andrews. Originating mainly from the Earl of Breadalbane's estate in Perthshire, most of them headed for Saint John County, taking up residence at either the City of Saint John or at various locations in the County. However, judging from the presence of Perthshire emigrants in the nearby Mascareen settlement (St. George Parish) on the eastern side of Charlotte County, it is likely that some of these people relocated themselves here at a later stage.

A reconstructed Miramichi bunkhouse interior, c.1898, showing a stove and two bunk beds (Central New Brunswick's Woodmen's Museum, Boiestown). Even by the turn of the century bunkhouses had few comforts apart from a stove and rows of bunks for sleeping. *Photograph by Lucille Campey. Taken by kind permission at Central New Brunswick Woodmen's Museum.*

When the Presbyterian minister, the Reverend Christopher Atkinson, arrived at Mascareen in 1838, he discovered that it had been founded 16 years earlier by settlers from Perthshire, Sutherland and Caithness (Figure 4).53 The Perthshire settlers had almost certainly arrived on the *Favourite* in 1815, while the Sutherland and Caithness settlers were probably migrants from the Scotch Ridge settlement, further to the west, which had been established 17 years earlier by people from Sutherland. At around this time, a few people from Argyll had also settled at Letang, a short distance to the southeast of Mascareen.54

In his 1834 visit to Mascareen, the Reverend Peter Mclntyre observed, "some Scotch settlements... on the road to Saint John, which I visited on several occasions, and lately I had an opportunity of presiding at a meeting held for adopting the necessary steps for erecting a Presbyterian church."55 A year later the Reverend MacLean described it as being "chiefly agricultural...and consisting principally of Scottish Highlanders and their family ramifications situated .. near the mouth of the river and stretching for several miles along the south side of the bay and terminating at...le Tete Passage... [Letete]." The frame of a "Scotch church" was in place although it

remained unfinished for a number of years.56 Meanwhile, "a place of worship had been erected" at nearby Lower Falls "by the joint exertions of Presbyterian and Calvinist Baptists.57

Having arrived in New Brunswick from Edinburgh in 1838, the Reverend Atkinson worked initially as a minister in Kings County. In the following year he presented himself to the Mascareen congregation who agreed to employ him for a year, following which time he became their pastor on an annual salary of £100. Remaining in Mascareen for three years, he lived mainly at Maguagadavic Village, where he recalled seeing the Maguagadavic River "covered with a floating bridge which reached a considerable distance and which was bending its course to the mouth of the Mascareen River at which place there were several ships to receive it."58

Returning to Scotland, the Reverend Atkinson wrote his *Historical and Statistical Account of New Brunswick,* published in 1844, advocating the province's merits to the "better class of emigrants." Judging from "the two thousand of the nobility, clergy, professors, merchants, etc. of Scotland" who, he claimed, had bought copies of two previous editions of this book, his literary career was well and truly launched.59 Favouring affluent Protestants, he offered assurances that New Brunswick had "refinements of society" and was free "from the crowds of individuals from Ireland." In spite of his pomposity, the Reverend Atkinson offered sound practical advice: "A pocket compass will be of great service to you," and, when "engaging a passage, enquire for a vessel not less than six feet between decks, and a steady captain and well-known" and "be not too hasty to make a purchase or a settlement."60

Sketch of Mascareen Church drawn by the Reverend Christopher Atkinson, c.1839 in *A Historical and Statistical Account of New Brunswick. Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada e-006078802.*

Meanwhile the Parish of St. Patrick, just to the east of St. Andrews, had acquired its first British settlers along the Digdeguash River as a result of the Loyalist influx that brought men from the Argyll Highlanders Regiment (74th) to the area with their families.61 Taking up their lots along the river by 1790, they built "houses made of logs, six or seven feet high," which had roofs made of "spruce bark."62 Douglas Williamson, brother of Archibald, one of the original settlers, thought his brother's lot to be a "wildwood of 200 acres of woodland which would take a lifetime to clear," adding that "it would be a fine country if it were not for the long winters."63 By 1825 there were about 35 families, mostly Scottish Presbyterians, who "frequently assemble on Sundays at their School House to hear a schoolmaster who was formerly a Methodist preacher."64 They may have been the same 35 families who petitioned the New Brunswick Legislative Council 13 years later for funds to build a church at Whitier Ridge "in connection with the established Church of Scotland."65 Nearby Pleasant Ridge, described in 1835 as "a recent but rising settlement," on the west side of the Magaguadavic River, also had "about a

dozen Presbyterian families" (Figure 4).66

Although St. Patrick acquired a substantial Scottish population, the Reverend Alexander MacLean thought that it was capable of accommodating many more Scots. Troubled that the "streams of Scottish emigration" to British North America appeared to be bypassing New Brunswick, he was making a determined effort to promote the province's attractions more widely in Scotland.67 Together with local people he formed the Charlotte County Highland Society, with himself as president. "Its object shall be to encourage emigration from Scotland by affording correct information regarding the colony to intending emigrants and by facilitating their prompt location on eligible lands upon their arrival within this county."68 As far as he was concerned, the province's chief advantage was its many rivers and streams. "There is no point in it on which a settler can place himself where he will not be in the vicinity of a stream navigable by boats." His favoured site was the area in St. Patrick, on "both sides of the Woodstock Road, after crossing the North West branch of the Digdequash [River] to the source of Canon's stream."69 Writing to the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir William Colebrooke, in 1842, he recommended the site, stating that it should be known as the Tryon settlement, and "be laid out for settlers from Scotland." He hoped that up to 60 families "could be comfortably located" and because the tract "is close to the settlements in St. James' Parish," there would be a Presbyterian church close by.70 Contrary to the Reverend MacLean's expectations, the Tryon Settlement developed through the efforts of Irish Presbyterians rather than Scots.71

As the timber trade progressed northward, Charlotte County lost its long-standing leadership in lumber production, and by the 1840s it was in the grip of a devastating economic depression. The Reverend MacLean had noticed the early signs of decline in St. Andrews, observing "that the population of the town has decreased at least one-fourth since 1830."72 He blamed the town's diminishing fortunes on the layout of its harbour. Unlike Saint John, where a single wide river "emptied itself into the sea," St. Andrews had a bay that was 20 miles long, into which flowed "three rivers, the St. Croix...at one end, the Maguagadavic at the other, and the Digdeguash in the middle, besides smaller streams."73 Although initially "most of the shipping did rendezvous and load at St. Andrews," in more recent times ships were proceeding "to the different rivers direct, and there taking in their cargoes, being thus enabled to purchase them at a cheaper rate than when they had to be rafted, at a considerable expense and risk, from the fresh water into the said harbour." Although "little villages are now rising at these new loading places or out-ports," this had led to a corresponding loss of revenue and employment in the town.74

The situation went from bad to worse. When the tariff on foreign timber was reduced in 1842, the local economy took another tumble.75 A year earlier "magistrates, merchants, shipowners, mill owners and other inhabitants of the parishes of St. Stephen, St. David and St. James," who numbered 153, had

complained that the proposed reduction "would give a decided advantage" to American timber over New Brunswick timber. Being closer to the West Indies, the United States could ship timber there more cheaply. There were 38 sawmills in St. Stephen producing "8,400 tons of shipping," which was taken on 36 vessels "nearly all of which are calculated only for the West India trade." Charlotte County had more than 100 sawmills and "the shipping amounts to from 16,000 to 20,000 tons."[76] All of this was at risk, but their pleas went unanswered. The tariff was reduced and a severe economic depression followed. From 1840 Charlotte County lost many of its native-born settlers, who were replaced by the considerable numbers who arrived from Ireland.[77]

People of Scottish ancestry made a considerable impact on Charlotte County's economic and agricultural development. They were the dominant figures of the region's early timber trade and they were well-respected for the farming skills they brought with them. The *Royal Gazette* applauded the success of "the very excellent Scotch Ploughs" that regularly appeared at ploughing matches in St. Andrews, St. David and St. Patrick parishes. The newspaper hoped that "old prejudices must now give way...as the country advances and that the improvement of husbandry will keep pace with it."[78] However, by the mid-19th century Irish colonizers were taking the place of Scots, who became an increasingly smaller proportion of the county's population. With a steadily deteriorating timber trade, many Scots were leaving for Upper Canada and the United States, where better land and job prospects awaited them.

It was only in St. James and St. Patrick, where the Scottish influx was particularly early, that the Scottish element of the population remained significant. In 1861, people of Scottish ancestry accounted for more than half of the population of St.James, while in St. Patrick[79] they represented 42 per cent of the inhabitants.[80] Ten years earlier some 18 per cent of the St. James population had actually been born in Scotland.[81] Meanwhile, only about a quarter of St. Andrews' population in 1861 had Scottish ancestry, and in the Parish of St. George, Scots formed only ten per cent of the population.

The first waves of Scottish colonizers in Charlotte County failed to attract many followers, mainly because there were better options elsewhere. The better farmland and coastal and river frontages that were available in Nova Scotia, Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island were proving attractive to many Scots. As far as New Brunswick was concerned, the Miramichi was fast emerging as the most popular destination. With its long-established Scottish communities and magnificent waterways, it acquired a steady stream of Scots from the early 1800s. They headed for the region's timber-collecting rivers and bays and founded many of Northumberland County's earliest pioneer settlements.

CHAPTER FOUR

ATTRACTIONS OF THE MIRAMICHI: THE NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY SCOTS

In Mr. McQueen's time there were two places of worship, one in the body of the [Miramichi] river and the other about 10 miles higher up, just on the Point where the river divides into two branches. He preached at these places alternately and the largest assembly was usually at the Point Church.[1]

When the Reverend James Thomson replaced Archibald McQueen at the Miramichi in 1816, he took charge of the longest-established Presbyterian congregation in the province. The earliest Scottish settlers had arrived before 1770. Following the Loyalist influx of 1784–85, which brought many more Scots to the area, the congregation was soon able to support two churches. The first church, built in around 1791, was situated at Beaubears Point (later Wilsons Point) while the second church, built in 1802, was located at Moorfield, on the north side of the Miramichi River opposite modern-day Chatham. The Reverend Thomson was actually the third minister to preside over this widely scattered congregation.[2]

The first minister, "a Mr Fraser, who had been a chaplain in one of the regiments during the American War," did not remain long "owing to some misconduct."[3] He was followed in about 1802 by the Reverend John Urquhart. "He was then in Prince Edward Island...and, having received a call from them, became their minister until he died in 1814."[4] However, problems arose when his successor, Archibald McQueen, arrived. Being of an evangelical persuasion, he did not suit "several of the people who were staunch Presbyterians," and "as he did not dispense the sacrament of Baptism," the congregation sent him packing within a year.[5] Two hundred and ten "of the most respectable people on the river," then sent a petition to the Presbytery of Pictou requesting a new minister, and this produced the Reverend James Thomson.[6]

Modern replica of St. James Presbyterian Church constructed c.1791 at Beaubears Point. *Photograph by Geoff Campey*.

In fact, the petition had come from the well-funded and well-organized people of Chatham, who had formed themselves into a separate congregation. Wasting no time they built their first church, St. Andrews, which they completed in the same year that the Reverend Thomson arrived.[7] Thus, unlike Mr. McQueen who had to officiate at services at both Beaubears Point and Moorfield, the Reverend Thomson was based solely at Chatham.[8] By 1821 the church at Beaubears Point became "entirely deserted," even though the population in the immediate area had tripled in size. Presumably the lack of a full-time minister contributed to its decline. Another factor was the emergence of the Newcastle congregation, which later absorbed the Beaubears Point congregation along with Moorfield's. Nevertheless, religious services continued at Beaubears Point until 1828, with the church being sold ten years later at a public auction.

The Reverend Thomson arrived in the Miramichi some 50 years after William Davidson had first begun to establish his fishery and timber-related businesses. Davidson had acquired a vast tract of land along the Northwest and Southwest Miramichi rivers, west of Beaubears Point. Since the site had these two river branches, which were navigable for about 15 miles above the point where they met and had numerous streams flowing into them, it particularly favoured the needs of the timber trade. With his great entrepreneurial talents and drive, Davidson prospered, although he had first to overcome many problems and setbacks. His businesses provided an immediate economic boost to the region and gave employment to the Scots who were specifically recruited by him to join his workforce. Thus, it was primarily because of Davidson that the Miramichi went on to acquire so many Scottish communities. Being the earliest settlers to arrive, they grabbed the best sites along the main river frontages and along the coast at Miramichi Bay.

Although Davidson made great strides in developing his shipbuilding and timber-export businesses, he had only limited success in attracting settlers. By 1785, there were only 32 families with farm holdings who were dotted along both branches of the Miramichi River. Numbers increased a few years later when some Loyalists from the disbanded Royal Highland Regiment (42nd), who had settled with their families along the Nashwaak River to the north of Fredericton, relocated to the Miramichi. While a few of these ex-soldiers joined Davidson's settlers to the west of Beaubears Island, most became widely dispersed, opting for sites lying outside Davidson's control. A number moved downriver to Chatham and Newcastle, acquiring prime sites along the Miramichi River, some took up land on the south side of Miramichi Bay, while others found choice sites much further up the Northwest Miramichi River in the Parish of Northesk.[9]

By the early 1800s Scottish settlers had progressed along large stretches of the Miramichi and its branches, carving out small scattered farms and timber-felling centres from the dense forests that greeted them. People were widely scattered and population clusters only formed in those few areas where good

meadow land was to be found. The Chatham Parish acquired its first Scots by 1770 while the Loyalist influx of 1784–85 brought the initial wave of Scots to Newcastle[10] and Northesk parishes.[11] As a result of a steady migration of Scottish Loyalists from the St. John and lower Miramichi regions to the upper Miramichi, the parishes of Nelson,[12] Blackville and Blissfield[13] acquired increasing numbers of Scottish settlers from 1800.[14]

Memorial stone at Blackville cemetery for Archibald Alcorn (1852-1914) of Kelso, Scotland and his wife Margery MacDonald (1852–1924). *Photograph by Geoff Campey*.

Meanwhile, Highland communities were forming in Alnwick[15] and Glenelg[16] parishes further to the east. First arriving in the 1770s and later in the Loyalist relocation of the mid-1780s, Highlanders founded five settlements along Miramichi Bay, each being at the mouth of a river. They created the settlements of Bartibog, Burnt Church and Tabusintac on the north side of the bay and Black River and Bay du Vin on the south side (Figure 5).[17]

Judging from the small number of recorded emigrant ship crossings from Scotland to New Brunswick before 1816, it can be inferred that many Highlanders came as Loyalists, while some were probably migrants from Prince Edward Island. Having become disgruntled with their poor land prospects on the Island, many Highlanders are known to have moved to Cape Breton by the late 18th century and it is likely that a similar migration took place to the Miramichi.[18] After all, it was merely a matter of travelling the relatively short distance across the Northumberland Strait. Later on, Joseph Bouchette noticed the many "young men of steady habits who went from Prince Edward Island and other places to the Miramichi." They did so to earn money in the lumber camps, which they used to purchase land.[19] This was a winning formula that had probably been adopted many decades earlier by enterprising Islanders.

Figure 5: Scottish Concentrations in Northumberland County, 1851

There were more or less regular emigrant ship crossings from Scotland to the Miramichi from 1815, with most crossings originating from Aberdeen, Greenock or Dumfries (Appendix I). However, only a few passengers ever sailed from Aberdeen and Greenock. On the other hand, Dumfries ships often had sizeable numbers of passengers, although not all necessarily disembarked at the Miramichi.[20] The passengers who left from Aberdeen and Greenock were more likely to have been job seekers, with special skills, who were being attracted by the opportunities to be had in the Miramichi's very fast-growing shipbuilding industry. Alternatively, some of the Aberdeen passengers may have been farmers or businessmen who were attracted by the region's good

salmon fishing. Angus Stewart, who "had a dwelling house" that came with "an excellent salmon fishery attached to it" on the Northwest Miramichi River, offered his property up for sale in 1816 and part of his publicity drive was to advertise it in the *Aberdeen Journal*.21

It was from Dumfries that the major Scottish influx occurred, beginning in earnest from 1817. By then the port had developed close trading links with the Miramichi, and because of adverse economic changes that had occurred in the region's textile districts, there were increasing numbers of people who sought to emigrate. Some of them settled in Alnwick Parish, along the south side of the Miramichi Bay, although most of the Dumfriesshire people, who settled in the Miramichi, probably went to Chatham and Newcastle, the two parishes that acquired the majority of Scottish settlers during the period from 1815 to 1851.22

Apart from the *Henry* of North Shields, which sailed from Fort William in 1817 with eight passengers, there are few other recorded crossings from Highland ports to the Miramichi.23 And yet, many Highlanders are known to have settled in Alnwick and Glenelg parishes. While the relocation of Loyalists to the province would have brought some Highlanders to the area, it is unlikely that this alone would account for their large numbers. Some probably came directly from Scotland. The one clue, which might suggest that a large group from the north of Scotland sailed to the Miramichi in 1817, is provided by the Scottish customs record for the *Berry Castle* of London. It shows that 102 passengers left Kirkwall (in Orkney) in May of that year bound for the Miramichi.24 This was a highly unusual event since Orkney people at the time expected to have to sail across the Atlantic from the Clyde.25 The obvious conclusion is that a group of people in the far north of Scotland wished to emigrate to the Miramichi, and being a sizeable number, they had been able to arrange for a ship to collect them at Kirkwall.

John Wilson of Stromness (Orkney) and his wife Euphemia Clouston, also from Orkney, arrived at Beaubears Point in 1817, and just three years later Beaubears Point became Wilson's Point.26 They had almost certainly sailed on the *Berry Castle.* Other Orkney people probably joined them. The Flett, Wishart, Mowat and Coulston surnames, which appear in the 1851 Census, point to an Orcadian presence in various Miramichi parishes. The *Berry Castle* may have also attracted emigrants from Sutherland County on the mainland, it being a relatively short distance away on the other side of the Pentland Firth. The introduction of sheep farms from the early 1800s, which had displaced so many tenants on the Sutherland estate, stimulated a large exodus to Nova Scotia between 1814 and 1821.27 Those Sutherland tenants with family or friends in the Miramichi may well have chosen to emigrate there instead. Possibly some of the Gunns and Mathesons, living in Glenelg by the time of the 1851 Census, had sailed on the *Berry Castle* or had parents or grandparents who sailed on it. The same may be true of the many Sutherland families, who were living in Newcastle, Northesk and Blissfield by

1851.

When Robert Cooney visited Tabusintac (Alnwick Parish)[28] in 1832 he observed its "two saw mills, one grist mill and two day schools; besides a small Presbyterian Chapel, occasionally visited by the clergyman from Newcastle."[29] The Reverend Souter, who was minister of Newcastle, did visit that same year, noting that the Tabusintac settlement was situated "on a river of the same name," lying on the north side of the bay "about forty miles distance from Newcastle."[30] Its inhabitants, together with those of Bay du Vin and Black River (Glenelg Parish) on the south side of the bay, "are chiefly Highlanders, the most part of whom have been there for sixty years"[31] Two to three hundred people "professing the Presbyterian faith" were living in Bay du Vin and Black River, "of whom probably 140 speak the Gaelic language. Of these, twelve or fourteen understand no other" [language].[32] Of the 40 to 50 families who lived in Tabusintac, four-fifths belonged to the Church of Scotland:

> They are chiefly engaged in lumbering and farming. A church 36 feet by 26 feet has been built and is quite finished externally, and is partly fitted up internally. It was got up chiefly by subscriptions raised within the settlement, through the praiseworthy exertions of John Campbell and Roderick McLeod esq., two of the leading people in that quarter. You may judge of their destitution in regard to religious instruction when I inform you that they have never had a settled clergyman amongst them, and that many of them will not hear a sermon preached oftener than twice a year. I visited them in June last, and although they had but short notice of my arrival, they assembled on the Sabbath to the number of more than two hundred, and appeared to listen to the Ministration of the Word with great attention.[33]

Bay du Vin's[34] initial Scottish settlers were Loyalists, who arrived from 1786, while Black River acquired its Scots from 1790. Ex-servicemen from the disbanded Fraser's Highlanders (78th), who were led by Major Macdonald, arrived at Black River first and other Highlanders soon followed, colonizing the area up to the river's source.[35] George Sutherland, ex-member of the 42nd Regiment and a former Nashwaak settler, who obtained a "vacant lot on the south side of Miramichi Bay" in 1790, may well have gone to Black River.[36] The fact that a Mr. Gunn from Caithness "who has the Gaelic language" was thought to be a suitable catechist for Black River, "where there are a good number of Highland people," certainly suggests that some inhabitants had links with the far north of Scotland. He might be Alexander Gunn, in which case he also provided the land on which the Black River Church came to be built.[37] Like George Sutherland, Alexander Gunn had served with the 42nd Regiment and moved to the area from the Nashwaak River valley.[38]

In 1826, the Tabusintac settlers were seeking a catechist "to keep school, to

teach English, writing and arithmetic, and church music"[39] but, six years later, they and the combined congregations of Bay du Vin and Black River on the other side of the bay were planning to each fund "one half of a clergyman's services."[40] In his report to the Glasgow Colonial Society requesting a clergyman on their behalf, the Reverend Souter was careful to point out that, "since several of them do not understand English... the clergyman to be sent to them would find it a great advantage and recommendation, to have the Gaelic language."[41]

When the Reverend James Hannay visited the Miramichi Bay area in 1833, shortly before taking up his ministry at Richibucto, he met the "settlers of Tabusintac and its vicinity, who informed me that previous to my last visit, they had not heard a sermon for more than twelve months." Methodists were "putting forth all their strength" at Black River and urging Scots to relinquish their Presbyterian affiliations. "In this settlement the Gaelic is spoken almost exclusively and you easily may judge with how much delight a Gaelic minister would be received." However, the Glasgow Colonial Society was clearly finding it difficult to fill this vacancy in spite of the Reverend Hannay's noble efforts in extolling its merits. "The labours of a missionary, though considerable, are less than might be expected, considering the nature of the country. Many of the roads are good, and the travelling consequently pleasant." His travel itinerary certainly demonstrated the many miles that he had to cover:

> Friday, rode from here to Black River, a distance of sixteen miles, and visited several families there. Saturday, proceeded to Richibucto [Kent County], a distance of thirty-two miles from Black River. Sunday, preached at Richibucto and returned in the evening to Rouchi-bouquack [Kouchibouguac], fourteen miles from Richibucto and lectured and preached to the settlers there, who form a part of the Richibucto congregation. Monday, returned to Newcastle, thirty-four miles. Wednesday, proceeded on my way to Tabusintac, and on Thursday arrived at Burnt Church,[42] on the Miramichi River, having gone the latter part of the way in a canoe. In the evening lectured and preached to about sixty persons belonging exclusively to the congregation of Tabusintac, and also baptized two children. Friday, proceeded by canoe to Negowack [Neguac], a French settlement, and walked through the portage to Tabusintac. Sunday, lectured and preached in the Church, and although the day was uncommonly boisterous, a large and attentive congregation was present. Monday, returned by portage and canoe as before to Burnt Church, left the latter place at dusk the same evening, slept that night ten miles further up the river. Tuesday, arrived at Newcastle thus having completed a journey of two-hundred miles, and delivered nine discourses in the space of twelve days...[43]

The Highlanders of Tabusintac, Bay du Vin and Black River did obtain

their minister in the end. Arriving in 1835, Mr Fraser was the first clergyman who could speak to them "in their own tongue of the wonderful works of God."[44] He soon established "a flourishing Sabbath school" at Tabusintac and coped as well as he could with "the privations incident to a missionary life."[45] A year later the inhabitants of Black River constructed St. Stephens, their first Presbyterian church, at a cost of £259.19s., employing William Porteous as their builder. In spite of making such great strides the Reverend Fraser returned to Scotland in just four years time.[46] He was replaced by the Reverend Angus McMaster in 1842, who presided over Black River together with the Kouchibouguac (Kent County) congregation, much further to the southeast.[47] According to Abraham Gesner, a contemporary writer, "a large Scotch settlement" had formed at Black River by this time.[48]

Another Highland community also formed at Bartibog (Alnwick Parish)[49] on the north side of Miramichi Bay, although little is known of its earliest settlers. The most reliable evidence of their presence comes from Father Plessis, who visited the area in 1812. He observed that Highlanders were attending services at a Roman Catholic chapel. "It was necessary to preach the word of God in English for them to practise their faith...They were not very numerous, there not being more than 40 families along the whole river."[50] Five were Acadians but the remainder were primarily Scottish.[51]

Alexander MacDonald and Angus Mclnnes, two ex-soldiers from the Macdonald's Highlanders Regiment (76th) had squatted on land at Bartibog, arriving there soon after 1783, when their regiment was disbanded. The presumption must be that they were Roman Catholics. Having received legal title to his land MacDonald went on to acquire 450 acres and several public appointments.[52] Judging from the fine stone house which he built for himself between 1815 and 1825, Alexander MacDonald had evidently prospered.[53] Apart from these two ex-soldiers, another obvious source for the area's Roman Catholic Highlanders was Prince Edward Island. Many Catholic Highlanders had emigrated to the Island in 1772, under Captain John MacDonald of Glenaladale's leadership. Experiencing great difficulty in finding suitable land, some could have crossed the Northumberland Strait in search of a better location.[54] Whether they arrived before or after the men from the disbanded Macdonald regiment is unclear.

Although the Miramichi Bay mainly attracted Highlanders there were some notable Lowland communities as well. Speyside emigrants like Robert Logie and his wife Margery Hay, who settled near Burnt Church (Alnwick Parish) in around 1779, might have been attracted by the early salmon fisheries that were being established.[55] One of their descendents, who moved to Black Brook on the south side of the bay, settled at what later came to be known as Loggieville (Glenelg Parish).[56] However, the main influx from the Lowlands did not get underway until after 1815 when, with the introduction of power looms, many Scottish hand-loom weavers were facing redundancy and low wages.

The sturdy two-and-a-half-storey house, just west of Bartibog Bridge on Highway 11, was built by Alexander MacDonald. It had six fireplaces and a huge cooking hearth in the kitchen. *Photograph by Geoff Campey*.

An important textile producing area, Dumfriesshire had many former weavers who were seeking to emigrate. Dumfries ships regularly left to collect cargoes of Miramichi timber, thus giving local people relatively cheap Atlantic crossings. These two factors were primarily responsible for the exodus that produced the Scottish settlement along the Napan River, just to the east of Loggieville.57

By 1832 "a flourishing Scotch settlement"58 was taking shape at Napan, having acquired two schools, two gristmills and "340 souls, principally Scotch emigrants and their descendents."59 Among their number were Samuel McKnight and his wife Elizabeth from Dumfriesshire, who had petitioned for land in 1816.60 Later on, Napan became known for its many Dumfriesshire settlers who came chiefly from Annandale.61 "This has arisen from the circumstances that a traffic in timber has long existed between the Miramichi River and the town of Annan, the ships engaged in which afford an easy passage to intending emigrants. Their sons are noted as the best ploughmen and themselves they are among the best farmers in the province."62

As with the rest of the Miramichi, the timber trade was the mainstay of the economy in the lower part of the river. Yet, the centre of this trade was further upriver. William Davidson's land at the junction of the Northwest and Southwest Miramichi River, near present-day Newcastle, was the first to be developed for its lumber potential. Having the daring of a true pioneer, tremendous business acumen and great qualities of endurance, he was the region's first timber entrepreneur. The writer, Patrick Campbell, thought that he was "a man of genius and great abilities" who could also be "a schemer" and general troublemaker.63 "Yet. he was held in such high esteem and was so well beloved that he was made a member of the House of Assembly and deemed one of the ablest and cleverest men in it."64 His many critics were envious of his success, which relied, more than anything, on his sheer determination to see his various projects through, regardless of the difficulties. As a Scot he mainly recruited a Scottish workforce and it is largely through his efforts that the Miramichi became a major Scottish stronghold.65 And having been founded by a Scot, the Caledonian influence over the region's timber industry grew and became enormous. Throughout its early development in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, much of the trade was planned, organized and effected by Scottish businessmen.66

Davidson's extensive business contacts included William Forsyth, the most influential of the early Scottish merchants in the region. After establishing himself as a general merchant in Halifax in the 1780s, Forsyth had built up his own sailing fleet, and by the late 1790s had a partner in Greenock and a network of agents and contacts who were entirely Scottish. William Davidson had entered this elite group in 1789 when he acquired a contract from Forsyth

to supply him with masts and spars.67 Another prominent member of Forsyth's inner circle was the Aberdeen-born John Black, who became one of the great pioneers of the British North American timber trade, establishing branches of his firm at Miramichi, Fredericton, St. Andrews and Montreal.68 Another business colleague was the Glasgow-born William Pagan,69 who regularly shipped timber cargoes from Richibucto to the Clyde from the early 1800s. However, the Inverness-shire-born James Fraser, another member of Forsyth's inner group, was the one who actually acquired Davidson's empire when William died in 1790.

Having arrived in Halifax in 1780, Fraser together with his business partner and fellow-Scot, James Thom,70 took over William Davidson's masting contract in 1790.71 They soon controlled all trade on the Miramichi River and were far more successful that Davidson had ever been.72 They owned all of Beaubears Island by 1805 and established a major shipbuilding centre there sometime before 1797, bringing skilled workers from the Clyde to augment their workforce. They acquired much of Davidson's estate in 1797, including his land, mills, wharf and various buildings.73 Although Thom retired in 1811, James Fraser continued trading. Having moved to Halifax, he put John Fraser, a relative, in charge of his Miramichi business, and it continued in operation until 1837.74 The Scottish-born Peter Clyde, who in 1830 was working as one of the lumberer surveyors for the company, complained of being "bothered with so much timber and lumber of one kind and another that when we fairly embark into the business it is almost impossible to get away from it again."75

The Edinburgh-born William Loch moved to Halifax in 1816 to take up employment with James Fraser.76 Like most entrepreneurially minded Scots of his generation and background, Loch expected to do well overseas:

> ...and having like many other of my young countrymen a desire of seeing the world I determined on going to America and accordingly embarked in May of that year [1816] for Halifax, Nova Scotia, where I arrived soon after and immediately got a situation as clerk in the Counting House of Messrs James Fraser and Co., one of the most respectable mercantile concerns in that place.77

Loading timber at Beaubears Island in 1826, showing the former Fraser and Thorn shipyards. Evidence of the shipbuilding that took place on the island can still be seen on this National Historic Site. *Courtesy of Provincial Archives of New Brunswick P4-3-4.*

Loch had trained as an apprentice with a firm of Edinburgh merchants and was thus well placed to find employment. His timing could not have been better. He arrived in Halifax just when New Brunswick's timber trade was beginning to soar. He was transferred to the Miramichi office and soon Loch was the principal clerk earning "a good salary." A few years later he formed a

partnership with Archibald Duncan, "a gentleman of Leith" whose brother James was "a very respectable merchant who is largely engaged in the American trade."[78] Following this turning point in his career Loch rose to prominence as a timber merchant and general trader in his own right. Nevertheless, matters took an unexpected turn when Archibald Duncan died in 1832.

Four years after Duncan's death, his widow, Grace McCallum, planned to marry Clement Bradbury, a former clerk at his firm.[79] Believing Bradbury to be a rogue, Loch tried to limit Grace McCallum's widow's inheritance to ensure that Duncan's young son would retain as much as possible from his father's estate. To achieve this Loch indulged in some creative accounting.[80] Grace would only be paid an amount that reflected Archibald Duncan's stake in the business at the time of his death, which Loch calculated to be just under £4,000. He then went on to claim that nearly one-third of the debts were irrecoverable and that Archibald Duncan had withdrawn a sizeable amount of money before his death. Thus, even though the company had a value of just over £16,000 he calculated Grace's share to be only £134. 9s. 6d.[81] After further negotiation Loch agreed that Grace McCallum and Clement Bradbury could have £400 on the understanding that they made no further claims on the company. Little wonder that Bradbury was "taken aback...when he realized how the balance stood" and believed that "his wife had deceived him by leading him to believe that she had a share in the business up to the day of her marriage."[82] Meanwhile, Loch continued trading in the Miramichi and later extended his timber trade operations to the Restigouche, forming a partnership with Peter and Donald Stewart in 1832 which survived until 1847.[83] Loch eventually became very wealthy, although this was largely from the sale of Edinburgh ale and London porter.[84]

TABLE 5

Lumberers Listed As Debtors in the Accounts of Loch & Duncan, 1836

[LAC MG 24 D 82:William Loch papers 207-8.]

In assessing the company's value, Loch had produced a balance sheet listing its assets and 350 debtors, who included 50 farmer/lumberers with total debts of just over £20,000 (Table 5).[85] Although many of the farmer/lumbers had Scottish surnames, the list included some typically Irish names, like Michael Fitzgerald and Norman McNamara, as well as some Englishmen like Abel Pond, who probably lived in Ludlow Parish.[86] Thus Loch's business circle was certainly not exclusively Scottish. By the mid-1830s Irish settlers

formed the largest proportion of the population and it therefore made little sense for Loch to favour fellow-Scots, even if he wanted to.

The Duncan and Loch partnership traded at a time when timber was felled and transported mainly by small family businesses, who relied on local merchants to advance capital for their hazardous operations. The farmer/lumberers in this list had depended on the partners for credit:

> All that a timber crew needed was a team of oxen, a couple of felling axes, a broad-axe to square the fallen tree trunks, a few barrels of pork and lard and perhaps a keg of rum. A five-man gang in New Brunswick in the 1820s would seek out a likely "vein or clump of pine like prospectors roaming for gold.87

Before embarking on their journeys into the woods in the winter, the woodsmen would purchase food, clothing, equipment and supplies from local storekeepers on credit and would later offer their cut timber as repayment.88 Thus, the merchants and storekeepers played a major role in coordinating the myriad of activities associated with the Miramichi timber trade.89

The highly diversified small family businesses that dominated the timber trade in its early stages gradually declined in importance from the 1830s. The arrival of large steam-powered sawmills, higher licence fees and rising transport costs favoured the few large well-funded concerns, which quickly acquired a monopolistic control over the trade. The first of the great timber firms to emerge was the Miramichi branch of the Glasgow merchants, Pollok, Gilmour and Company. It dominated the timber trade first in the Miramichi, then in the Restigouche region and became the leading British firm in the North American market.90

The Renfrewshire-born Alexander Rankin, one of the most successful timber barons of his day, took charge of the Miramichi branch of the company in 1812. The firm, Gilmour, Rankin & Co., soon controlled timber operations on the Miramichi River and by 1824 the Miramichi overtook Saint John as New Brunswick's main timber-exporting port, shipping nearly 142,000 tons of squared timber.91 The company owned the largest shipping fleet in Britain, with many of their ships having been built at Douglastown, the site of their operations in the Miramichi, on the north side of the river, halfway between Chatham and Newcastle.92 A fervent supporter of the Church of Scotland, Rankin left £25 in his will for every Protestant church on the Miramichi River.93

Founded with Scottish capital and staffed by Scots, the company grew rapidly, becoming the largest employer on the river's northern bank.94 The workforce was strongly Presbyterian and Scottish.95 In 1832, Douglastown "had 320 inhabitants, chiefly emigrants from Dumfriesshire and different parts of the Clyde,... almost exclusively Presbyterians."96 However, some Highlanders resided there as well. By around 1830 the merchant Marcus Gunn had emigrated from Thurso to Douglastown where he built a "a pleasant and

commanding residence...with a pleasant garden, grounds, etc."[97] When the region was ravaged by the great fire of 1825, Rankin's house, which was spared, became a refuge for hundreds of destitute people. Rankin contributed generously to a fund raised to assist them and was chairman of the committee for distributing relief.[98]

Alexander Rankin's house in Douglastown. The original house burned down in 1835 and this house, the second on the site, was built two years later. *Photograph by Geoff Campey*.

The neighbouring towns of Chatham and Newcastle were settled before 1785, principally by Scots, becoming the region's economic hub and principal trading centres. Lined with shipyards and wharves, they, together with Douglastown, attracted much of the early influx from Scotland, which grew steadily from 1816. The new arrivals probably included people like D. McDonald from Stirling, who informed the Colonial Office that he intended "to emigrate with about 15 persons or more to Miramichi," and hoped that he would qualify for a free passage or "any other assistance offered to emigrants."[99] While Newcastle and Chatham increasingly attracted Irish immigrants from the 1820s, a steady stream of Scots continued to move into both towns during the 1820s and 1830s.[100] Later on, Chatham's good economic prospects attracted Dumfriesshire people like John Muirhead from Pictou. His son, William, went on to become the largest of the Chatham shipbuilders and the leading shipper of lumber on the Miramichi River.[101]

Newcastle's St. James Presbyterian Church was reduced "to its ashes" in the fire of 1825, but four years later a second church, "which will contain upward of 400 settlers," was being constructed.[102] By this time the sprawling congregation included people from "the upper part of the Parish of Chatham and the lower portion of the parishes of Northesk and Nelson."[103] William Loch, one of the original members of the committee that was set up to build the church, left a generous bequest of money and land in his will.[104] The congregation, who were willing to pay a resident minister a salary of not less than £200 (New Brunswick currency), turned to the Glasgow Colonial Society for help in finding someone suitable. As if to ram home the point that this was a well-resourced congregation, the names of 150 people who had contributed to church funds were listed with their letter (Table 6).[105] The Reverend James Souter duly arrived in 1830 and he remained in Newcastle for 14 years before returning to Scotland.[106]

Grace Presbyterian Church at Millerton. The Reverend William Aitken, minister of St. James Church, Newcastle, from 1882-1902 took part in the official opening ceremony. He was father of the celebrated Max Aitken (Lord Beaverbrook). *Courtesy of Provincial Archives of New Brunswick P6-40*.

St. James and St. John United Church, Newcastle. Formerly St. James Presbyterian Church, it was built

in 1829 by architect and builder, William Murray. *Photograph by Geoff Campey*.

By 1830 Newcastle had "12 mercantile establishments, two public houses, a Presbyterian church and a Wesleyan Chapel...besides 120 dwelling houses occupied by a population of 600 souls."[107] Northumberland County was said to have "about 4,000 who professedly belong to the Church of Scotland," with Newcastle and Chatham being the only places to have resident ministers.[108] By 1847 Newcastle had a population of 3,500 and Chatham's population exceeded 4,000.[109] When he visited Chatham, Alexander Munro thought "the town had been badly laid out as the front streets are both narrow and winding." However "as the new streets to the rear, which are planned with more order and system, become filled up... with neat public and private houses, the whole will present a more attractive appearance."[110]

Having acquired its first Scottish settlers by 1770, Chatham grew rapidly as timber exports flourished. By 1820 former weavers from Annandale, who had previously emigrated to Napan, relocated to Chatham and at precisely this time books began arriving from Scotland.[111] Given the Scottish weaver's healthy appetite for books and love of intellectual pursuits, Archibald McQueen's receipt of "sundry books for the Miramichi Library" from a James Duncan of Leith, who offered a 15% discount, takes on a special significance.[112]

TABLE 6

Funds Raised in 1830 by the Newcastle Presbyterian Congregation

[LAC (M-1352) James Wright to Rev. Burns (Glasgow Colonial Soc.), Jan. 16,1830]

Meanwhile, a split had developed in the St. Andrews congregation at Chatham. While the Reverend Thomson had served it, the secession adherents outnumbered those of the established church.[113] Nonetheless, by the time of his death in 1830 the established church adherents were in the ascendancy and rejected the Reverend Thomson's replacement, who had been sent by the Nova Scotia Synod.[114] Recognizing that the battle was lost, the secessionists built St. John Church, leaving St. Andrews to become an established church with a minister who would be appointed by the Glasgow Colonial Society.[115] The St. Andrews congregation paid damages to the secessionists and "it is said that persons of the established persuasion contributed to their church building, although none of them ever attended it."[116] The forty Chatham people who contributed money in 1833 were probably the secessionists who were aided by the £27. 4s. 6d, which was contributed by Mr. H. Henderson on behalf of the St. Andrews Church trustees, (Table 7).[117]

When the Reverend Robert Archibald took charge in 1834, the congregation had 600 to 700 people, who resided in Chatham and "the lower district of Newcastle and part of Glenelg."[118] He thought St. Andrews was "a handsome and substantial building, situated in the most popular district in the south bank of the Miramichi and having an excellent manse and glebe close to it." He believed himself to be among "the most sober and industrious crop of settlers in this part of the world." The Reverend Archibald was clearly savouring his "world of woods and waters."[119]

However, conditions were a lot more difficult in the upper stretches of the Southwest Miramichi River. "With the exception of a small Baptist Meeting house," there was "not a single Protestant place of worship" in the four parishes of Nelson, Blackville, Blissfield and Ludlow, "covering a distance of upwards of seventy miles."[120] Yet Scottish colonizers had been at work, some having arrived as Loyalists. Ludlow had attracted men like William Abernathy, from the disbanded 42nd Regiment, who had applied for permission "to cut and carry away 400 tons of white and red pine timber."[121] Meanwhile Blissfield had acquired a group of Ayrshire Scots in 1800, who were led by Robert Doak. Together they established a substantial farming and lumbering centre at Doaktown, a place situated some 50 miles from the mouth of the Miramichi River.[122] By 1875, Robert Harvie Doak had acquired a sawmill, gristmill and carding mill, which were "all housed together in a large, strong building."[123]

TABLE 7

Funds Raised in 1833 by the Chatham Presbyterian Congregation

[LAC (M1354) Rev. James Souter to Rev. Burns, Feb. 26, 1834.]

Although Millerton (Derby Parish[124]) had to wait until 1894 before it acquired its first Presbyterian church, Blackville fared better, having been colonized from 1801 by Scottish Loyalists, who moved there from the Saint John and lower Miramichi regions.[125] The Reverend Souter opened a preaching station at Blackville Village (formerly Bartholomew's Mills) in 1839 and in the following year the congregation completed St. Andrews Church, which was constructed by William Murray, "a master builder of the Miramichi."[126]

As was the case with most Presbyterian ministers who came to New Brunswick, the Reverend John Turnbull, Blackville's first minister, had to travel long distances. There were around 1,000 Presbyterians who were scattered over the "four adjacent parishes, namely Nelson, Blackville, Blissfield and Ludlow. I have therefore very long journeys to perform in every sort of weather so that it is sometimes with greatest difficulty that I am able, at the stated periods, to fulfil my engagements."[127] This heavy travelling burden took its toll on the Reverend Turnbull's health and by 1852 he severed his ties

with St. Andrews Church.

Robert Doak's house at Doaktown, still with its original furniture. *Photograph by Geoff Campey*.

In spite of having been colonized from the late 18th century, the straggling communities that formed along the Northwest Miramichi River in Northesk Parish did not acquire their Presbyterian churches until 1850.128 The three earliest Scots to arrive in the parish are believed to have been John Stuart, William Martin and Angus Gillis, who had settled in the Red Bank area by 1785 (Figure 5).129 Former soldiers from the 42nd Regiment followed, including John Fraser, who obtained land at Sunny Corner (near Red Bank).130 Marrying Mary Gillis, daughter of Angus and Abigail Gillis, sometime before 1792, he inherited 480 acres from his father-in-law and still owned this land when he died in 1823.131

The Red Bank community began building St. Stephens Church in 1850 and acquired its first Church of Scotland minister, the Reverend Frederick Home, sixteen years later. By this time 60 Presbyterian families were living in Northesk. By 1886 the nearby communities at Whitney and Strathadam had built St. Philip's Church, which had a seating capacity of 200. The church also served people from Southesk, "who came across the river by boat, and over the ice in winter."132 Funds were once raised through "a social tea meeting" at which Miss E.M. Tirling of Hillfort Farm, Nova Scotia spoke of her children's homes in Scotland and on aspects of juvenile emigration. The Reverend William Aitken, minister of St. James Church, Newcastle, preached at the official opening and dedication ceremony.

St. Andrews Church, Blackville, now a United Church of Canada, built in 1840. *Photograph by Geoff Campey*.

Early visitors to the Miramichi were disheartened by the sparse and scattered homesteads that could be seen along the river and coastal shorelines. Lieutenant-Governor Sir Howard Douglas described the "Miramichi Basin" as consisting of "scattered houses, hamlets and commercial establishments, with many souls distant from each other."133 He felt that the people should "be more located in one town" and recommended that more population growth should be encouraged in Chatham.134 The writer, Peter Fisher, considered the Miramichi settlements to be unworthy of mention, "the improvement of the country being neglected for lumbering."135 And when he visited the region, Joseph Bouchette was surprised to see so few outward signs of the wealth being created at Chatham and Newcastle by their burgeoning timber trade. "There is nothing that can accord with the expectation that would naturally be formed from the immense resources of the country."136 In his view, the timber trade had been pursued to the detriment of farming.

Yet these commentators failed to appreciate the dual nature of the local economy. Unlike many other parts of the Maritime provinces, farming had only a limited role in the Miramichi. The wide rivers and interconnecting streams were tailor-made for the timber trade, which became the mainstay of the local economy. The early arrivals engaged in timber production both for its own sake and as a means of clearing land for settlement. As is to be expected, the areas which produced the most timber initially, also attracted the most settlers.137 Nevertheless, even after they had established their farms, many settlers continued to work in lumber camps and, without their earnings from the camps, could not have survived.

The earliest British settlers were predominately Scottish. The large numbers of Scottish-born farmers, merchants, shipwrights, lumberers, land surveyors and storekeepers, who appear in the 1851 Census, reflect the major role played by Scots in the region's economic life.138 The largest concentrations of Presbyterian Scots were to be found in Glenelg, where they represented 53 per cent of the population, and in Alnwick and Newcastle, where they represented 45 per cent of the population.139 Early Scottish dominance quickly ebbed as the Irish influx grew from the 1820s, but even so, Scots should be remembered for having founded many of the region's pioneer settlements.

Scottish settlers also made important inroads in the southeast of the province and here too, they were scattered widely and depended on the timber trade for their livelihood. However there was a major difference. Unlike the Miramichi where long-established Scottish settlements survived for many decades, in this region Scots were more likely to become assimilated with other ethnic groups into mixed communities. In such circumstances they had a greater struggle than normal to preserve their culture, religion and traditions.

CHAPTER FIVE

SEARCHING FOR RIVER FRONTAGES: SCOTTISH CONCENTRATIONS IN THE SOUTHEAST

Archibald Gilchrist...by trade a shoemaker, who has a family of grown-up children and is possessed of some capital, is desirous of emigrating with his family to Saint John, New Brunswick, on condition of getting a suitable grant of land.[1]

A Paisley shoemaker, by the name of Archibald Gilchrist, wished to emigrate to Saint John. Requesting help in obtaining land from the Colonial Office in 1822, he was one of a long line of Scots who was seeking a new life in the province. Saint John was a thriving city by this time, with a substantial Scottish population, whose roots dated back to the large Loyalist influx of 1784. Thirty years later, the city's Scottish inhabitants were building their first Kirk of Scotland.[2]

The shell of St. Andrews Kirk was completed by 1814 and in October of that year a Mr. James Gregor of Saint John was inviting tenders from "such persons as are desirous to contract for lathing and plastering" the church and also "for laying the floors and finishing the pews and galleries."[3] Soon, the Presbyterian congregation would be petitioning the Lieutenant-Governor for glebe land and the other privileges enjoyed by the Church of England, but to no avail. Nevertheless, here, as in other parts of the province, Presbyterian Scots had the advantage of having well-funded benefactors in the shape of the Glasgow Colonial Society, whose missionaries showed particular gallantry in reaching their flocks, even in the most far-flung of locations.

Although a tradesman, Archibald Gilchrist was probably not planning to settle in Saint John itself. His desire to own land clearly shows that he intended to become a farmer and the likelihood is that he would settle somewhere in the southeast of the province. People of Scottish descent were to be found widely scattered around Loch Lomond in Saint John County, along the Kennebecasis River in Kings County and around the Grand Lake in Queens County. These three counties acquired many of their Scots from Perthshire and various locations in the Lowlands from the early 1800s.

However, the influx to Kent and Westmorland counties was very different, with Scots arriving later and in the case of Kent County, in far greater numbers (Figure 6). Originating mainly from Dumfriesshire and other parts of the southwest Borders, the Kent County Scots kept themselves apart from the wider community far longer and were to have a lasting impact on the county's early settlement pattern.

The Old Kirk—St. Andrews Church, Saint John, the oldest Presbyterian church in the province, was completed in 1816. Sadly, it was destroyed in the fire of 1877. *Courtesy of Provincial Archives of New Brunswick P 7-75 Legislative Library Photographs.*

Saint John County was the first to acquire a large contingent of Scots, doing so in 1803. Being anxious to attract immigrants, the New Brunswick Legislature paid the relocation costs (amounting to £164. 15s. 7d.) of 40 of the 70 passengers who sailed on the *Rosina* to Saint John from Greenock.4 (Table 8) Charles Robertson and family, who originated from Perthshire, settled in Saint John County initially but later moved to Titusville (Hampton Parish) in Kings County.5 Another five families, headed by James McFarlane, Duncan Campbell, James Drummond, Andrew McVie and Mrs. King, went to the Sussex Vale region of Kings County as did John Blair, from Aberfoyle in Perthshire, who travelled on his own.6 Blair and each of the five families obtained land grants of 100 acres in Norton Parish, where they founded their small community. Having arrived with his loom and a forge, Blair had important practical skills to contribute. His blacksmith's shop soon became the settlement's principal gathering place and news centre, with his house doubling as both the church and school.7

The second major influx to the region was sparked off by a severe economic depression, which hit Scotland with the ending of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. An added stimulus was the offer of subsidized travel from Scotland to New Brunswick that same year. One hundred and thirty-three people sailed from Port Glasgow to Saint John, arriving in December. Nearly half came from the two parishes of Kenmore and Callander in Perthshire, while most of the rest were from the Clyde region, especially Greenock, Port Glasgow and Glasgow (Table 9).8 The group were beneficiaries of the House of Assembly's policy of allocating £1,000 for the purpose of "encouraging immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland by paying passages."9 Three passengers paid their own fares to Saint John while the rest came "passage free."10

Figure 6: Scottish Settlements in the Southeast of the Province, 1851

TABLE 8

List of Passengers Who Arrived at Saint John on the *Rosina* from Greenock in May 1803 Without Having Paid Their Fares.

[PANB MC 1672: Surveyor General's Papers]

Columns:
1: Number in family
2: Passage payments made
3: Head of household
4: Place of Residence (in N.B.)
5: Claim on Province at 5 guineas each
6: Amount requested

The following persons [all single men] have not yet paid their passage, but some part of the (money is now delivered) and we expect to obtain the whole (The Commissrs.).

Archibald Miller
William Neilson
James Edward
George Ross
Matthew Roule
George Rossborough
William Harmaen
John McCrae

[1] The total should be £28 6s 6d.
[2] The total should be £148 6s Id.
[3] The actual total is £278 Is 8d. The total shown, "£164 15s 7d currency," probably represents the amount in New Brunswick currency.

Offers of subsidized emigration had particular appeal to crofters in the Breadalbane estate, who were being cleared from their holdings to make way for sheep farms. Equally the offer of free travel was an enticement to the many redundant hand-loom weavers in the cotton districts of the Clyde, who were seeking an escape from their poverty. Early in the summer of 1815 people from Perthshire and these same Clyde districts had enlisted in the British government's assisted emigration scheme, which resulted in their relocation to the Rideau Valley of Upper Canada.[11] Nonetheless, those joining the Rideau Valley scheme had to pay a hefty deposit and, in any case, numbers were limited. The House of Assembly's offer of a free passage to New Brunswick later that year gave those people, who wished to emigrate but lacked the resources, yet another chance of a new life abroad. Judging from the tightly controlled selection process, it would seem that a good many people had responded.

James Taylor, a Fredericton merchant, was given £1,000 to arrange the crossing for the group, who were "all under the age of 40, and [having] no infant under the age of two."[12] In addition, "one hundred of them shall be adults above the age of 16 years and, of the adults, 67 shall be males."[13] They included labourers, carpenters, shoemakers, smiths, tailors, carpenters, a cooper, a carrier, a millwright and a mason. Claiming that his ship was "under weight on her intended voyage," Taylor brought out ten additional passengers, including Alexander McGregor, the ship's surgeon, who came on board after the ship had cleared customs.[14] The fact that the *Favourite* set sail on the 22nd of October suggests that there had been an unexpected delay in

processing the group. Even so emigrants, desperate to get away, boarded this ship fully realizing that they would not reach their destination until the winter.

Upon reaching the port of Saint John, the emigrants immediately scattered to a number of locations.15 Ten people, all from Perthshire, went to St. Andrews, while the majority headed for Saint John County. Twenty-five Perthshire emigrants went to the already-established Loch Lomond (Simonds Parish) settlement near the city of Saint John. Undoubtedly, some of the earlier 1803 group, who had sailed on the *Rosina,* had founded this settlement, choosing a name which reflected their Dunbartonshire and Stirlingshire roots. By 1822 the Loch Lomond settlers were petitioning the New Brunswick Legislature for funds to build a Presbyterian church.16 According to Lieutenant-Governor George Stacy Smyth, Scottish settlers believed that such a church would make their community more attractive to fellow Scots whom they hoped would join them. Meanwhile, around 50 people went to the City of Saint John, and 20 or so went to unspecified locations in Saint John County, while the destination of the remainder is unknown.

Table 9

Passenger List, *Favourite* of Saint John (John Hyndman, Master) for the Crossing from Port Glasgow to Saint John on October 22, 1815

[PANB MC 300 MS 17/40 (m/f F9798)]

The following columns are headed: 1 Number, 2 Names, 3 Age, 4 Sex, 5 Quality, occupation or employment, 6 Place of former residence, 7 Parish of former residence, 8 County of former residence.

In addition to the Loch Lomond settlement, emigrant Scots also colonized some districts in the south of the county, along the Bay of Fundy coastline (Figure 6). Their Black River settlement (Simonds Parish) had particularly good soil. Here, "settlements make rather quick advances in comfort."17 Disappointingly for the Presbyterian missionary who had been sent by the Glasgow Colonial Society in 1835 to assess their religious needs, Black River had only around 28 Presbyterian families, who were "generally very indifferent about religion."18 Nevertheless they were prospering, unlike the 70 Presbyterians further to the west at Dipper Harbour (Lancaster Parish), who earned "a scant subsistence by fishing and farming."19 Their religious observance consisted of weekly meetings at the scoolhouse, which were "conducted in the Presbyterian form."20 Around 16 to 18 Presbyterian families were to be found at South Bay, just west of the City of Saint John while some Scots had settled at Reeds Point (Hampton Parish) just to the north of Loch Lamond in Kings County. Having arrived at Reeds Point in 1819, James Waddell, from Lesmahagow (Lanarkshire), quickly established himself in the local timber trade. He built his first sawmill just two years after

arriving and was soon exporting timber to Britain and the United States.21 Although Scots were widely scattered in Kings County, the majority were to be found in the Kennebecasis Valley.

Becoming a prosperous farming district, the Kennebecasis Valley was said to have acquired "the air of a civilised old settled region" by 1840.22 Scots made their contribution to this well-settled landscape, probably as Loyalists and certainly as immigrants from Scotland, arriving in the region from the early 1800s. Perthshire emigrants were particularly prevalent and many of them must have sailed on either the *Rosina* in 1804 or the *Favourite* in 1815. By 1826 Springfield Parish came to the notice of the Glasgow Colonial Society, which gave the Presbyterian congregation a grant for a schoolmaster and a catechist. Having had "our crops failed this year owing to the dry summer," they also requested ongoing financial assistance from the Society.23 The catechist, a Mr. Anderson, was kept busy with constant visits to five separate communities in the parishes of Springfield, Norton, Sussex and Upham in Kings County, and in addition he also tended to the religious needs of Scots in Queens County (Figure 6).

Mr. Anderson's congregations in Springfield were mainly concentrated at the East and West Scotch settlements, which were situated along the Belleisle River. The East Scotch Settlement was founded in 1823 by Perthshire emigrants, and it is highly likely that they were also the founders of the West Scotch settlement.24 With "a large settlement five miles back in the woods, where there are about 20 Irish families who visit occasionally," Irish settlements were clearly growing around them.25 Nevertheless, Scots were present in considerable numbers and by 1829 they were apparently "thirsting for the ordinance of religion."26 Yet, six years later, the Presbyterian congregations in the East and West Scotch settlements each only had a dozen families. While these few families were "warmly attached to the church of their forefathers," it seems that most other Scots were no longer supporting the established Church of Scotland and had probably converted to Methodism.27 The dwindling congregation struggled to build its church, which was "only rough-boarded, not shingled or floored."28 Although Methodism reigned supreme in the region, Presbyterian churches sprouted at Lower Mill-stream and Pearsonville, in the neighbouring Parish of Studholm, in 1888. However, this was only a temporary upsurge and 40 years later both congregations merged with their Methodist counterparts.29

Those Scots, who settled along both sides of the Kennebecasis River in Norton, were much more widely dispersed, sharing their location with colonizers from Northern Ireland. A visiting Presbyterian missionary in 1829 found that there were "fewer of our countrymen than at any of the other quarters."30 Although it became "a flourishing and beautiful settlement" with "a neat Presbyterian church," the established kirk had little support and by 1835 the community was left with only eight Scottish Presbyterian families.31 Their church was never "entirely finished" while the nearby "English Church

and Baptist Meeting House" probably attracted many Scottish converts.32

Sussex Vale (Sussex Parish) was far more successful and by the late 1820s had a "considerable number of Scottish families, scattered widely."33 Here "the farmers are more substantial than those of Springfield, having been longer settled."34 They too were chiefly from Perthshire and were reported to be "industrious and successful farmers."35 Establishing their Scottish settlement on the road, that ran along the banks of the Kennebecasis River, they prospered.36 When the Reverend John Martin visited them in 1829, he preached at "a commodious school-house" to a "numerous and attentive audience."37 But the situation was quite different six years later when the established kirk could only claim around fifteen families "throughout the range of the valley"38 As was the case at Springfield and Norton, they had succumbed to "the various denominations" of religion which were clearly on offer in the region.39

On the Kennebeckasis River, near Saint John c.1836. Lithograph produced by Day and Haghe in *British America Land Company Views in Lower Canada* (London, England: 1836). *Courtesy Library and Archives Canada Accession: 1993-345-9.*

Meanwhile more Perthshire emigrants were to be found in the southern part of the county, along the Hammond River. Having recently arrived at Salt Springs in Hampton Parish (later Upham Parish) in 1829, "many of them were struggling with poverty."40 Close to Salt Springs was South Brook, which was "composed of Irish on the opposite side of the Hammond River extending six or seven miles back in the woods."41 Yet another Irish settlement called New Ireland, having 30 to 40 families, had also been established in the area. By 1835 there were only around 18 families who were reported to be Presbyterians, although Upham Parish did have a Presbyterian church by 1840.42

Thus, it was a constant struggle for the Established Church of Scotland to attract supporters in spite of the wide-ranging support that was being provided by the Glasgow Colonial Society. In order to raise sufficient funds to employ a resident Presbyterian minister, the three Presbyterian congregations at Norton, Springfield and Sussex Vale combined their resources in 1835. The Reverend David Syme sailed from Scotland on the *Lady Campbell* of Glasgow that year to take up his new post. To their horror, the church elders later discovered that he had travelled with a Miss Mary Allan, aged 18. Although she was apparently "under his charge," she had disguised herself "in male attire" and called herself Mr. Miller.43 Having lied about the girl's identity initially and further enraging the elders by continuing to offer Mary Allan "his protection," the Reverend Syme's fate was sealed. He was summarily dismissed in spite of his protests of innocence. Soon after this he married Mary, following which "his name is heard no more in New Brunswick Presbyterianism."44

Scottish penetration of Queens County, which was much more limited,

amounted to a mere scattering of people around the northeast side of Grand Lake, at Cumberland Bay and around the lake's southern end (Figure 6).45 The Scottish settlers, who established themselves "between the Washademoak [Lake] and the Grand Lake" in Cambridge Parish, could only expect to be visited by a Presbyterian missionary once a year, if that.46 In 1835, there were "50 families of Presbyterian settlers...spread over a large portion of the country," but by this time "Calvinist Baptists" had become "rather numerous among the Presbyterians."47 Sometime around 1828 a few Scots settled along the Gaspereau River (Chipman Parish), which flows into the northeast end of Grand Lake, but they too became absorbed into the wider mixed communities, and before this Loyalists, who included people of Scottish descent, had founded Scotchtown (Canning Parish) on the southwest side of Grand Lake and they also lost their separate identity. 48

The Perthshire and Lowland Scots who came on the *Rosina* in 1804 and the *Favourite* in 1815 had a major impact, founding some of the earliest British settlements in the southeast of the province. Other Scottish settlers certainly followed, as is clear from a letter written in 1817 by an officer of the 100th Regiment, who was stationed at Saint John.49 "This place is crowded with people from Scotland—upwards of 300 persons principally from Dumfries and Greenock have arrived within the last month [July] and many more are expected."50 The officer's observations concerning the Dumfries arrivals are confirmed by newspaper shipping reports and the Scottish customs records that reveal particularly large numbers of passenger arrivals at Saint John between 1817 and 1822 (Appendix I). If the officer was correct, then clearly many Scots arrived from Greenock, even though recorded evidence for such ship crossings is difficult to locate. Based on a chance survival of the list of passengers who had travelled to Saint John on the *Lady Campbell* of Glasgow from Greenock in 1833 and 1834, it would seem that most emigrants, who sailed from the Clyde, were drawn from either Glasgow or Greenock (Tables 10 and 11).

Table 10

Passenger List, *Lady Campbell* of Glasgow (James Whyte, Master) Crossing from Greenock to Saint John, May 1833

[New Brunswick Gen. Soc., *Passengers to New Brunswick,* 172-3]

Table 11

Passenger List, *Lady Campbell* of Glasgow (Peter Simpson, Master) Crossing from Greenock to Saint John, May 1834

[New Brunswick Gen. Soc., *Passengers to New Brunswick,* 169-70.]

Name Age Occupations

Former residence of the following passengers was Dunkeld Parish, County of Perth:

Former residence of the following passengers was Middle Greenock Parish, County of Renfrew:

Former residence of the following passenger was St. Enoch Parish, Glasgow, County of Lanark

Former residence of the following passengers was St. George Parish, Glasgow, County of Lanark:

Former residence of the following person was Middle Greenock Parish, County of Renfrew:

Former residence of the following person was St. Mary's Parish, Glasgow, County of Lanark:

While many of the Greenock arrivals probably settled in the immediate area, census data and reports from visiting Presbyterian missionaries indicate that most Dumfriesshire settlers sought destinations much further afield. Areas along and near the Northumberland Strait had far greater appeal for them, although evidence of their arrival from Scotland went largely unrecorded. The explanation for this attachment lies solely in the timber-trade links which evolved from their home port of Dumfries.

Unlike the other major Scottish ports, which traded with Quebec as well as several Maritime ports, the Dumfries trade was initially centred solely around timber ports in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.[51] Most of this trade was concentrated in the Northumberland Strait. Anyone from the southwest Borders who wished to settle in Upper or Lower Canada had the added cost of travelling a considerable distance westward after crossing the Atlantic. Thus, potential emigrants from this region had direct access to the eastern Maritimes but not to Quebec. Although some of the Dumfries passengers may have been en route to the United States, many settled in distinct groups in the Richibucto area of Kent County, as well as in the Miramichi, and to a lesser extent in York County.[52] Hence, the striking predominance of Dumfriesshire settlers in the Richibucto area, which is revealed in the 1861 Census, can be explained by cost considerations and the ready availability of transatlantic transport. However, there was an additional factor.[53]

The Scottish presence in the Richibucto area had been enhanced by a substantial migration from Prince Edward Island. The rapid growth in Richibucto's timber trade and the relative decline in timber production on the Island from 1820 had no doubt stimulated this influx. In fact, by 1828–29 Richibucto would be producing almost as much timber as the Southwest Miramichi.[54] What is significant is that the main concentrations of Dumfriesshire settlers in Prince Edward Island were on the west side of the Island, directly opposite Richibucto.[55] Hearing favourable reports from their fellow countrymen, and only having to travel the short distance across the Northumberland Strait, they moved to Richibucto, thus augmenting the

Dumfriesshire numbers in the local Scottish population. By 1835 Richibucto's Presbyterian minister would note that "the inhabitants are principally natives of Dumfriesshire and Galloway,[56] with a small proportion from Prince Edward's Island and from the North of Ireland."[57]

The first large contingent to arrive in New Brunswick from Dumfries were the 517 passengers who sailed on the *Augusta, Thomson's Packet* and *Jessie* in 1819.[58] The first two vessels went to Saint John, while the third went to the Miramichi and Prince Edward Island. "The great majority are believed to come from Cumberland [England], Annandale, Dumfries, Wigtownshire and ...Kirkcudbright. They all describe themselves as labourers or small farmers." Although they included people of limited means, the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier* claimed that "no less than £18,000 will be carried out on this occasion."[59] Three years later the same newspaper condemned the loss of so many unemployed hand-loom weavers from the Carlisle area (Cumberland) to Saint John, although most of them were penniless.[60]

Advertisement in the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier,* July 29, 1817 for the crossing of the North Star of Dumfries from Kipford, just to the east of Kirkcudbright to Richibucto. She sailed with 33 passengers.

The first reliable record of a Scottish presence in Kent County comes from a Presbyterian missionary in 1826, who reported that 100 Scottish families were living in Carleton and Richibucto parishes (Figure 6).[61] The Kouchibouguac settlement (Carleton Parish) at the northern extremity of the province, which grew along the north/south public road from Chatham to Bouctouche, had been founded in the early 1800s, probably by Scots from Glenelg Parish in Northumberland County.[62] Some distance away were the much more straggling communities along the Richibucto River and its tributaries. During his 1832 visit Robert Cooney noticed that this entire region was "thinly settled by Scots" and that their communities extended for about 25 miles on each side of the river. The 18 families from Wigtonshire and Kirkcudbrightshire, who settled along the road from Chatham to Bouctouche during the early 1820s, created Galloway (also known as New Galloway) a place name that reflects their southwest Scotland origins.[63] Two of the likely founders include Robert Dunn and David Main, both of whom petitioned for land in the Galloway settlement in 1819.[64] By the time that Cooney arrived the settlement was "rapidly forming" and he noted that the original 18 families "are now comfortably settled."[65] In 1835, it had a population of 135, all Presbyterians, with most of its in habitants living just south of the Presbyterian church, near the town of Richibucto.[66]

Cooney found that the town (formerly called Liverpool)[67] was increasing in size rapidly and, "for this improvement, it is indebted to the timber trade more than to any local privilege." To the north of the town was St. Andrews, the secession church, which was "a neat and plain edifice of modern

architecture" capable of seating 300 people. The Reverend John McLean, who had been sent by the Pictou Synod, presided over religious services at this thriving congregation.[68] However, when he retired from ill health in 1833, the congregation decided "to attach themselves to the Church of Scotland."[69] The Reverend James Hannay duly arrived, courtesy of the Glasgow Colonial Society, two years later, making him the only resident Protestant minister in Kent County.[70] An early Acadian village (Richibucto Village) was situated on the south side of the Richibucto River opposite the town and a short distance away was "the property of Messrs. Pagan and Powell, the first and formerly the most respected merchants in the county"[71] Included in this property were the wharves that William and Robert Pagan had built some twenty years earlier on land that had been reserved for the Mi'kmaw First Nation.[72] The Pagan brothers paid for the use of the land for their lumbering and fishing activities and "asked not to be disturbed in their holdings."[73]

By the time that the Reverend Hannay became installed there were abut 750 Presbyterians in his congregation, half of whom were to be found along the Richibucto River, within four miles of the church, and the remainder along the river's tributaries in Weldford Parish. Fifty-seven people lived along the Bass River, 42 were on the Molus River and ten lived on Mill Branch, all being some 12 to 16 miles distance from the church. Another group of 150 had settled along the St. Nicholas River, the largest of the Richibucto River's tributaries, and were about eight miles from the church. To make himself more accessible to the people in Weldford Parish, the Reverend Hannay "preached among them four Sabbaths yearly, in a schoolroom in a central situation" and even attracted "a number of whom may be reckoned as belonging to the Church of England, and not a few in connection with no church whatever."[74] Compared with his fellow ministers in charge of the shrinking Presbyterian congregations within Saint John and Kings and Queens counties which struggled to keep going, he presided over highly receptive communities:

> I experience much kindness and attention from my people who are principally natives of Dumfriesshire and Galloway and know how to value our Presbyterian Institutions. The accession of emigrants from Scotland during the last summer was considerable, and I had the pleasure of hearing some of them express their gratitude to the father of mercies for his goodness in directing them to a place of habitation, which but for the scenery around them, they could readily regard as some favoured spot in their native land.[75]

Becoming an important shipbuilding, sawmilling and timber-export centre, the town of Richibucto attracted its fair share of entrepreneurial Scots. One of the most prominent was John Jardine who sailed to Richibucto in 1816 from Dumfries on the *North Star* of Dumfries.[76] Travelling with him were his nephews John and Thomas, who helped him to establish a major timber and

shipbuilding business just two years later. Basing his business empire in Rexton (formerly Kingston), to the south of the town of Richibucto, he became the village's founder and the region's principal merchant.77 In the 1830s, he purchased and exported large quantities of timber from merchants and others who "were not in the habit of shipping themselves" as he built up his many commercial networks.78 Despite these positive developments, disaster struck in the deep recession of the 1840s when Jardine faced insolvency. In 1844, he moved to Liverpool where he re-established his shipbuilding and other interests. Remaining behind in Rexton, his two nephews founded their own shipbuilding firm, J. & T. Jardine, which traded successfully for many years.

Meanwhile, near the Nova Scotia border in Westmorland County, the province's most important agricultural district, Scots were once again establishing themselves along the Northumberland Strait. One of the earliest arrivals was John MacDougal from Ayrshire, who, together with Scottish migrants from Prince Edward Island, founded the Macdougall Settlement (Shediac Parish) in 1818 (Figure 6).79 It seems that he was also assisted by "settlers from the Highlands of Scotland," who were due to sail to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick on the *Maid of the Mill* that same year.80 Some even "had their relations and acquaintances there."81' Given that the Clyde shipowner had a New Brunswick agent at Petitcodiac (Westmorland County), it is likely that some in the group were intending to join the Macdougall Settlement. Later on, "the Scotch settlement" formed just to the south west of it as colonizers from the initial community extended their land holdings.82 Known initially as the "Bend of Petitcodiac," nearby Moncton blossomed into a thriving village once the railway linking it with Shediac and Saint John was completed. By 1861 Scots constituted nearly a quarter of its population.83

TABLE 12

Botsford Parish (Richibucto) Petitioners of 1826

[LAC (M-1352) Petition of Scottish settlers to Dr. Scott of Greenock and the Rev. Burns of Paisley, Feb. 15, 1826]

Thomas Watson Simpson
Robert Anderson
John Mackenzie
Andrew Wyllie
Robert Smith
William Robinson
Henry Rodgerson
Joseph Mackay
Edward Daly
Joseph Ellis
William Peacock
John Anderson
Richard Boyce
John Morgal

Another group of emigrant Scots from Botsford Parish revealed themselves in 1826 when they petitioned the Glasgow Colonial Society for help in acquiring "a minister of the Gospel." These were 52 families (150 people) in "indigent circumstances" who could not afford "the full salary of a minister," but hoped that the Society might send a Presbyterian missionary to visit them occasionally (Table 12). In addition to the 52 families there were "about 12 families who seem to be a little inclined to either the Methodists or New Lights [Lichts],84 but who have made no open profession to any. They are, like ourselves, wandering like lost sheep without a shepherd."85 The Botsford Scots did acquire a Presbyterian church by 1840, but 20 years later they only accounted for 17 per cent of the total population.86

Most Scottish settlers came to the southeast of the province during the first two decades of the 19th century but there was one notable exception. A group of Ayrshire farmers suddenly made their way to the so-called "Mechanics' Settlement" in the late 1840s.87 This was a 50,000 acre site in Kings and Albert counties, some 70 miles east of the City of Saint John, which was being used to resettle unemployed tradesmen on farms. The expansion of the timber trade throughout the 1830s had brought prosperity, but these good years were followed by a severe economic depression. Reacting to the hardship being caused by the deteriorating economic climate, a group of businessmen, who were mainly Scots, formed the Mechanics' Institute of Saint John in 1839. Being "largely managed by those of Scottish birth or blood," the Institute aimed to relieve the economic distress being experienced by hundreds of families.88 Despite these good intentions the response was poor when land at the Mechanics' Settlement was surveyed at public expense and offered on easy terms to would-be settlers. By the Spring of 1842 the local economy had partially revived and jobs were once again available in the ship-building industry. "Many of the people who had proposed to associate to form settlements in the wilderness, rather than leave the province, having again found employment in their respective callings, were unwilling, when the emergency had passed, to take possession or go upon the lands prepared for them."89

View of Shediac Harbour in 1873. The railway linking Saint John with Shediac was opened in 1860. This illustration appeared in *Canadian Illustrated News*, Vol.VII, May 31, 1873, p. 340. *Courtesy Library and Archives Canada C-059170.*

Nevertheless, the Mechanics' Settlement did acquire colonizers eventually, some of whom came as immigrants from Ayrshire. Although Scotland had been gripped by a trade depression in the early 1840s, the sixty Ayrshire farmers, who came forward in 1848, were certainly not poor. They could "command from £200 to £2,000 per family."90 Led by a Reverend Mr. Hunter and William Dunlop, an Ayrshire farmer, they proceeded cautiously.

William Dunlop would view the Mechanics' Settlement, and, if pleased, others in the group would follow that year, while the rest would come in the Spring.91 The small but steady influx from Ayrshire to the province, which occurred soon after, indicates that Dunlop's report was probably favourable. Nineteen settlers arrived from Ayr in 1848, another 16 arrived in the following year and 10 came in 1850. Eleven more people arrived from Ayr in 1852 and 33 came in the following year.92 Although much of the wilderness land in the Mechanics' Settlement was cleared by colonizers, the site was partially abandoned by the mid-1850s, on the return of improving economic conditions in Saint John.93

While emigrant Scots soon became assimilated into wider communities in much of the southeast, the Kent County Scots remained visible far longer, in spite of the increasing influx of Irish settlers into the province.94 By 1861 the Weldford Scots represented 43 per cent of the parish's inhabitants while in Richibucto they accounted for 29 per cent and in Carleton they were 35 per cent of the total.95 Just over half of the Scottish households in Weldford had family members who originated from Dumfriesshire while a further 15 per cent came from Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtownshire, thus demonstrating their remarkable affinity with the southwest Borders of Scotland.

Scottish emigration to Kent County mirrored the expansion of Richibucto's timber trade and, as the trade moved northward along the Northumberland Strait to the Restigouche region, emigrant Scots followed once again. However, this time the phenomenon produced many more Scots. As the timber trade began its steep rise from the mid-1820s, the Restigouche region was soon transformed into a major Scottish stronghold. Scots converted huge tracts of wilderness into well-settled communities and eventually predominated in this part of the province. The largest influx came from the Isle of Arran, with the first settlers reaching the region in 1829.

CHAPTER SIX

THE TIMBER TRADE MOVES NORTH: THE RESTIGOUCHE COUNTY SCOTS

The whole line of country is terra incognito at Quebec and Fredericton ...and yet humble Scotchmen and their families had made choice of it and already fixed upon it their future homes.[1]

In his visit to Restigouche in the mid-19th century, J.F.W.Johnston, the British agricultural scientist, noticed that large numbers of Scottish settlers were living in the region. He wondered "who had induced all these men and women to leave remote corners of Scotland to settle in this remote corner." He concluded that the region's many advantages were being communicated through "an undercurrent of knowledge flowing among the masses, chiefly through the literary communication of far distant blood relations, of which public literature knows nothing and even governments are unaware."[2] Few immigrants knew of the region's existence apart from these Scots who had access to a grapevine, which was passing favourable reports from Restigouche back to Scotland.

Alexander Munro had been impressed by the region's fertile soil and natural beauty when he came to the region at about this same time. He found that some fields on the banks of the Restigouche River "are as well cultivated as to be found in much older districts."[3] There were "large tracts of good land, especially between the Matapédia River and its tributaries and the Restigouche River...It is timbered with spruce, beech, birch and maple, especially the latter affording great facilities of sugar making. On the Canadian coast of the Bay Chaleur also there are fine valleys of fertile land intervening between the hills."[4] Yet, because the timber trade was concentrated initially in the Miramichi, further to the south, Restigouche had been slow to attract settlers.

A canoe being repaired on the Restigouche River near Henderson Camp, c.1857-63. Watercolour possibly by W. Hickman. *Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada, Acc. No. R9266-272, Peter Winkworth Collection of Canadiana.*

A few Loyalists arrived in the 1780s to exploit the fishing, but large-scale colonization had only begun in the late 1820s when the timber trade reached Restigouche. This was some five years after the Miramichi's timber industry had begun its explosive growth.5 And when people arrived they came "in a straggling sort of way, and from Scotland chiefly."6 They were remembered later for their "good religious knowledge, fixed principle and a reverence for ordinances and church privileges which characterize congregations in this quarter to this day."7 Initially, people would arrive from all corners of Scotland, but by 1829 the intake came mainly from the island of Arran.

Alexander Munro travelled on the public road, that ran along the Restigouche River from present-day Matapédia to the town of Dalhousie, observing the progress of settlement. Many communities had formed along the shoreline at Sugar-loaf, Colebrook, Glenely (possibly Glencoe) and Glenlivit in Addington Parish and at Dundee and Lily Lake, in Dalhousie Parish. Settlements were also forming "to the rear of the front lots" and "a few scattering settlers were extending their locations nearly to the Upsalquitch River, beyond which inhabitants become few and far between"(Figure 7).8

Figure 7: Scottish Concentrations in Restigouche County, 1851

As had happened in the Miramichi, the earliest Scots were attracted initially to the Restigouche region by its bountiful fishing opportunities. Having been granted 3,000 acres of land on the south side of the Restigouche River, Shoolbred and Smith, a London firm, established a salmon fishery.9 Although they had high hopes of bringing out 150 families from the Orkney Islands to work and live on this site, they eventually settled for eight Aberdeen fishermen, who were recruited in 1775.10 The firm was soon in difficulty, having failed to comply with the settlement and road-building conditions of their grant. As William Davidson had discovered in the Miramichi, such failures brought disaster. Shoolbred and Smith had their land escheated by the government, and in around 1781, it was then granted to Henry Lee, a recently arrived American. He "did a very large business in the way of curing salmon, which he exported to Spain and the Mediterranean," although he probably did an even more lucrative trade in the fur, which he concealed in his fish cargoes and smuggled into Boston. Recruiting his workforce primarily from Aberdeen, he encouraged immigration and "the country began to open up for settlement."11 The earliest community to form was at Martin's Point (Addington Parish), which would become present-day Campbellton. The Aberdeen families were soon joined by Loyalists from the United States and a trickle of settlers from Scotland then followed. Robert Ferguson's arrival in 1796 was something of a turning point. "A man of superior energy and acknowledged ability," he brought his immense entrepreneurial talents to the region and transformed its economic life.12

In spite of his resourcefulness, Henry Lee fell into debt, and following a

legal dispute over his property after his death, his widow sold 1,600 acres of the estate to the Perthshire-born Robert Ferguson. The land holding had "the most favoured soil in Restigouche" and included "the site of the old Indian village"[13] on which Ferguson built Athol House (present-day Atholville).[14] The Athol House estate "became the centre of activity and trade" and the large store that he built "commanded the custom of the whole country both down the bay and on the river."[15] Within a decade Ferguson was the region's leading merchant, prominent landowner, mill owner and shipbuilder.[16] Meanwhile, with the growing timber trade from 1815, the small Scottish community at Martin's Point developed into a village, but Ferguson's ambitions did not end there. In 1825, he began "to lay the town he talked of on that point of land" and seven years later the village of Martin's Point became Campbellton.[17]

A devout Presbyterian, Ferguson helped with the building of a church in 1805 on his Athol House property. "It was built of the best pine, well-wrought, carefully put together, and everything was made by hand."[18] Twenty-five years later, a second church was erected at Campbellton, this site being more conveniently located for the scattered congregation that extended to both sides of the Restigouche River.[19]

Ferguson rose to prominence with Hugh Munro, a fellow Scot who originated from Ross-shire. A Gaspé Loyalist, he went first to New Carlisle where he became "a lumberman."[20] Moving in 1794 to St. Peters (renamed Bathurst)[21] in nearby Gloucester County, he established himself as a fish merchant and soon expanded his operations to include lumbering. In a short time he was building ships and for many years dominated the commercial life of St. Peters. Between them, Ferguson and Munro controlled much of the region's trade and commerce, but of the two, Ferguson was far more successful. Munro courted unpopularity by flagrantly discriminating against Acadian and Irish settlers and when William End, an educated Irish immigrant, defeated him in the election of 1830, his political influence in Gloucester County waned. His power base was further diminished by Joseph Cunard's rise to economic dominance in the Bathurst area. Although a member of Munro's elite group, Ferguson was unscathed by his antics. In later life and afterwards he would be the recognized "founder and father of Restigouche."[22]

Having acquired its first Scots sometime before 1810, Dalhousie, just to the east of Campbellton, blossomed into a considerable town, after its initial foundation in 1826.[23] With the continued growth of the Restigouche timber industry, the combined Presbyterian congregations at both Dalhousie and Campbellton soon reached the point where they could each afford a church and share a resident minister. The Reverend James Steven from Wigtownshire, who was sent to them by the Glasgow Colonial Society, arrived in 1831 and remained for nearly 33 years.[24] As ever, coping with a dispersed congregation, which extended to New Richmond, New Carlisle and

Port Daniel in Lower Canada, required great resilience and dedication:

> The settlements on the River Restigouche under my care extend some distance below Dalhousie at the mouth to the Upsalquitch [River], a branch of it [the Restigouche River]—that is to say, 40 miles more or less, comprehending a scattered population of Protestants, exceeding a thousand souls, rapidly increasing by emigration and natural causes. Many, indeed most of them, are of the Church of Scotland and attend worship as regularly as the yet imperfect state of communication and the country for want of roads and bridges permits. My attendance at Dalhousie, a distance of 16 miles from Campbellton, where I now reside every third Sunday, affords the inhabitants between and in the immediate neighbourhood of these two places, the means of attending worship every other Sunday at either one or the other church...The population on this river [Restigouche] principally depends on the lumber trade, agriculture being in its infancy among them.25

The Reverend Stevens was "a strong, rugged man, gentlemanly and courteous," who could travel on snowshoes or ride a horse through any sort of terrain. His funeral, in January 1864, is said to have been the largest ever known in the county and" he lives still in many memories and hearts."26

The trade in timber in the northeast of the province was being spearheaded by one or two large companies, the most important being the Glasgow-based Pollok, Gilmour and Company.27 The company was ruled by a Scottish clique, nearly all of whom came from the same Renfrewshire Parish just south of Glasgow, many being relatives of either the Gilmours or the Polloks.28 Having established Gilmour, Rankin and Company at Douglastown in the Miramichi in 1812, the firm went on to open branches at Saint John, Quebec and Montreal.29 By 1832 the firm had founded Ferguson, Rankin and Company at Bathurst (Gloucester County) and in the following year Arthur Ritchie and Company was launched at Dalhousie30 Arthur Ritchie also founded his own shipbuilding firm in the area, which, in 1851, had 56 employees who lived on the premises, most of whom were Scots or Acadians.31 Although the various Pollok and Gilmour companies acted independently, they were effectively its subsidiaries. By the late 1840s the company controlled timber-trade operations in much of the northeast although by then Joseph Cunard also had major interests, particularly in Bathurst and the rest of Gloucester County.32

View of Campbellton, c.1900. *Courtesy of Provinäal Archives of New Brunswick P 11/25, haac Erb Collection.*

View of Dalhousie, showing ships at anchor in the harbour. *Courtesy of Provinäal Archives of New Brunswick P 20/326, Nicholas Dcnys Historical Society Coliection.*

Settlers from Arran began arriving in Restigouche just as its timber trade was beginning to rise in importance. The driving force in their leaving Arran was the deteriorating economic situation, being experienced throughout the Hebridean islands. A general economic depression had set in with the ending of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, but a bad situation became critical when the Hebridean kelp industry33 collapsed in the mid-1820s. Many people faced extreme destitution. The 10th Duke of Hamilton, the proprietor of Arran, reacted to these catastrophic conditions by clearing his estates to make way for sheep farms, a process that began in 1825. The first evictions were not accompanied by any emigration schemes, but in 1829, when the north of the island was being cleared, the Duke offered his displaced tenants financial help to emigrate. Many of them accepted his offer.34 Over the next few years some four hundred of them would settle in the Chaleur Bay area while another three hundred would choose the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada.35

The initial group, who arrived in 1829–1830, are said to have originated from the southwest of Arran.36 Those leaving in 1829 sailed on the *Corsair,* which was captained by John Hamilton, a local Arran man.37 He prospered and became a Dalhousie merchant, building a house and endowing the St. John Presbyterian Church at Dalhousie.38 The 1829 group were certainly not the earliest of the Arran settlers to reach Chaleur Bay. The Duke of Hamilton told Colonial Office officials that he thought his tenants "will in all probability locate themselves among the old settlers."39 He was probably referring to the Arran settlers who had applied for land at Point La Nim, close to Dalhousie, nearly a decade earlier and who were now well-established in the area.40

The *Town of Bathurst,* c.1857, by William Hickman. Lithograph by F.Jones, Day & Son Ltd., London, 1860. *Courtesy of The Beaverbrook Art Gallery. Fredericton, NB. Purchased with funds from Mrs. A. Murray Vaughan.*

The 1829–30 Arran emigrants settled principally at New Mills (Colborne Parish), "between two French settlements occupying a space of about 14 miles."41 Large numbers also went to Durham and Dalhousie parishes both of which received a further large influx in 1832–33.42 They colonized large swathes of land on the south side of Chaleur Bay, establishing communities that stretched across three parishes in a more or less continuous band from Campbellton to the Belledune River (Figure 7). By 1834 there were "upwards of 200 families of Scotch Presbyterians. . .from the mouth of the Restigouche River 30 miles upstream, sixty to seventy of which speak the Gaelic language and are chiefly from the Isle of Arran."43 As news of their growing numbers spread, Mr. Hamilton, a clergyman in Cape Breton, decided to leave for Chaleur Bay, "having a preference for it," because so many Arran people were there.44 They did well generally "through industry and economy" with many having "money to begin with, mostly made by herring fishing."45 Weaving was also important to them, particularly in Durham, where a "weaving and carding establishment" employing nine men was established by

1851.46

TABLE 13

Kilmarnock Petitioners Seeking Aid to Go to Chaleur Bay, Jan. 31, 1827

[NAB CO 384/15 f.557]

Thos. McQueen
Jn Wilcock
Jn Hunter
Jn Wilcock
Wm Hamilton
Wm Hamilton
Jn Wilcock
Jn Wilcock
Jn Wilcock

Colonial Office asking for financial help to emigrate to Chaleur Bay, stating that they would repay any money advanced to them (Table 13).51 They argued that the cost of travelling to Chaleur Bay "would be no more to the government...than if their expenses had been paid merely from Quebec to Upper Canada, to which place a great number [from Kilmarnock] formerly were taken."52 In the same year the Hamilton Emigration Society in Lanarkshire, made a similar bid for funds to emigrate "to Canada or Bay Chaleur," although "gentlemen" in their parish had already offered help.53 However, they had no chance of success since the government always refused such requests.54 Nevertheless, news of the region's agricultural and economic advantages had clearly spread to southwest Scotland. It is not known whether these former weavers actually reached New Brunswick, but some Ayrshire emigrants did settle sometime in the 1830s in Belledune (Gloucester County) just to the east of the Arran communities in Durham Parish.55

St. Marks Presbyterian Church at Miscou Harbour, Gloucester County. *Courtesy of Provincial Archives of New Brunswick P 18/264, J.Y Mesereau Photographic Collection.*

Scottish colonizers also made inroads in the Acadian and Irish strongholds just to the east in Gloucester County, establishing themselves in sufficient numbers at Bathurst to build a "handsome" church and attract visiting Presbyterian missionaries.56 In 1834, it was reported to have 40 to 50 Presbyterian families who were living "21 miles south of Belledune."57 Bathurst grew rapidly and by the mid-19th century it was a substantial lumbering and shipbuilding centre with a population of 500 to 600 people.58 However, there are signs that the town's economic growth had peaked by this stage. In 1859, William Smith grumbled to Daniel McGruar, a friend in Newcastle (Miramichi), that "the codfish aristocracy of Bathurst" was getting its clothes "made by women," leaving his tailoring business with insufficient work. Times were hard and he had become "fairly dissatisfied with this place."59

Miscou Island, on the northeast tip of Gloucester County, also attracted a substantial number of Scots in spite of its remoteness. The earliest to arrive was John Campbell, formerly of the Royal Highland Regiment (42nd), who had settled as a Loyalist in the Gaspé. "An able and somewhat testy Gaelic soldier," he moved, with his family to the south side of Miscou harbour sometime before 1819.60 Robert Harper, a Lowlander, followed in 1825, then came the Glaswegian, John Marks, and Andrew Wilson, an Aberdeen shoemaker, both of whom had previously settled in the Miramichi. No doubt the great Miramichi fire had been a factor in their removal to Miscou. The Highlander, Donald Mclvor, relocated to Miscou sometime before 1849, after living for a while in Nova Scotia and the Miramichi.61 And so it went on. Scots arrived in ones and twos over a number of years and, by 1886, they were sufficiently well-established to be able to build their own Presbyterian church.

The amazing takeover of Restigouche by Scots owed much to the grapevine that told of its attractions. Once initial footholds had been created, the first settlers communicated its benefits to their friends and family back in Scotland and elsewhere in the region. Chain migration fuelled by personal recommendation, and little else, had clearly propelled Scots to this one area. The prospect of settling side by side with others who shared their culture and values while enjoying the economic benefits of the region's booming timber trade was an unbeatable combination. By 1851 Scots represented some sixty per cent of the total immigrant population of Restigouche County.62 Ten years later people of Scottish ancestry accounted for around 65 per cent of the population of Adding-ton and Colborne parishes and overall, they represented half of the population of the entire county.63

The situation could not have been more different in York County, where Skye settlers had attempted to establish a community in an area controlled by the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company. Their settlement failed to attract any followers, but, initially, that was the least of their worries.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE SKYE SETTLERS

On Thursday afternoon the ship Royal Adelaide *sailed from Greenock for Saint John, New Brunswick with 318 adults and 23 children, the passengers belonging to the island of Skye and the other districts of the Highlands at present suffering from distress.*[1]

These Highlanders arrived at Saint John on the 14th of October, 1836, just as winter was approaching.[2] They could not have had a more inauspicious beginning. The New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company had not made sufficient preparations, and some 48 of them would perish in their first winter from cold and hunger. To make matters worse, they had left Scotland in the most trying of circumstances. They were part of the great exodus from Skye, which was being fuelled by the clearances to make way for sheep farms. After the collapse of traditional kelp markets from the mid-1820s and the general economic depression that followed on its heels, evictions had become a fact of life during the 1830s, particularly on Lord MacDonald's estate, on the east side of the island. From his base in Portree, Norman Nicolson, the land company's agent, found many willing recruits from this estate, although he grossly misled them about the terms and conditions they were being offered.[3]

The New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company was founded in 1834 to promote colonization in a remote stretch of the province.[4] Having purchased 589,000 acres of Crown land in the northern part of York County, a tract that stretched north from the St. John River and west along the Nashwaak River and the portage road to the Southwest Miramichi River, the company sought colonizers from Britain (Figure 8).[5] In fact, it was one of two land companies that became operational that year, the other being the British American Land Company, which strove to convert the wilderness of the Eastern Townships in Lower Canada into a settled landscape.[6] Both were modelled on the Canada Company, established eight years earlier, which promoted settlement schemes over its two million acres in Upper Canada. Even though their holdings were closer to Britain, both companies faced stiff competition from the Canada Company, because of the superior quality of its

land. That advantage enabled the Canada Company to attract many more British immigrants than its two rivals.7 Thus, while the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company's promotional literature enthused over its "vast tracts of fertile forest lands watered by numerous rivers," the reality was very different.8 Much of its land was relatively poor and the company struggled long and hard to attract settlers.9

Figure 8: Scottish Settlements in York, Carleton and Victoria Counties, 1874

Clearing town plots at Stanley. Lithograph, October 1834, by W.P. Kay printed by Day & Haghe of London, England, and published by George Ackerman & Co., London, England. The New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company established the town of Stanley on the Nashwaak River in 1834. *Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada C-000017.*

In choosing to emigrate to New Brunswick, the Skye settlers had departed from their accustomed policy of relocating to places where they could join already established Highland communities. There were no Skye communities in New Brunswick. Their longstanding links were with Prince Edward Island and to a lesser extent with Cape Breton and Lower Canada. Large numbers of Skye people had emigrated to Prince Edward Island in 1829–30 and another very large influx followed nine years later.10 Some Skye people had also emigrated to various parts of Cape Breton, especially in 1829–1830, and to Dundee Township (Huntingdon County) in Lower Canada from 1818, but no footholds were ever established in New Brunswick.11 The *Inverness Journal* commented on how the many hundreds of Skye people, who were emigrating at the time, carefully selected their destinations:

> Two vessels taking upwards of 690 passengers sailed a few weeks ago and a third which is to take half as many more is due to sail and many more are resolved to follow as soon as they hear of the comfortable settlement of their friends and their ability to receive them...Even now on the other side of the Atlantic, there are numerous settlements formed where nothing but Gaelic is spoken and Highland manners and usages are retained in all their purity—so that the poor emigrant whilst he hardly feels the change in appearance will it is hoped find it in reality most conducive to his welfare and comfort.12

The Skye settlers broke with convention in sailing on the *Royal Adelaide* to Saint John, but they had good reason for doing so. They had been lured by the offer of free passages. The costs associated with emigrating were prohibitively high for many people, and thus, the prospect of free transport must have seemed irresistible. Norman Nicolson's advertisement in the *Inverness Journal* was clear for all to see. The company "will provide at the proper

season of the year well-found and approved ships" and "free passages including provisions" would be paid "to such emigrant families of respectable character as he may be satisfied are unable to defray the expenses themselves."13 An added incentive was "the choice of the best and most convenient lots of land to settle on," which would only be available to the first arrivals.14 Yet, shortly after their ship left Greenock, Nicolson required them "to sign an agreement for the payment of their passage."15 Of all the many disappointments they would face, this was the severest blow. Had they realized that they were going to have to pay their own fares they would have joined one of the many long-settled Highland communities elsewhere in the Maritimes. What must have been doubly hurtful was the later realization that Nicolson had probably received funds from their landlord for all or part of their fares, money which he presumably pocketed.16

The site provided for them by the land company was situated to the south of Stanley, along the old Stanley Road between the Seymour and Tay rivers.17 Each family was allocated a 100-acre farm, and would be required to pay an annual rent of one shilling per acre.18 Five acres were to be cleared, with crops sown, before the families arrived and each family was promised a log house. The company would also "ensure constant employment...in making roads, clearing and draining land, building houses, or on such other works as may be in progress."19 The settlers had been required "to pay a deposit into the hands of the agent at the rate of twenty shillings for every adult as a security," but that was refundable.20 It all must have seemed so perfect in print, but the reality proved to be very different. They found an undeveloped wilderness, with only the barest of preparation having been made.

Their colonization venture was jinxed from the very beginning. The *Royal Adelaide,* far from being a "well-found and approved ship," as was claimed in the company's advertisement,21 was in the passengers' opinion "ill found"—so much so "that many of the passengers suffered very much from sickness and disability."22 Nonetheless, the fabric of the vessel was sound, having an "El" rating from Lloyd's of London, signifying that, although she was far from being top quality, she was at least seaworthy. Another sign of the vessel's suitability was her use once again in the following year to take emigrants from Greenock to Quebec.23 Moreover, the *Royal Adelaide* was a relatively new vessel, having been built in 1830 in the Miramichi. These factors suggest that the passengers' grievances were primarily linked to the management of the crossing. One obvious problem was overcrowding. To comply with the Passenger Act regulations of 1835, this 417-ton vessel should have only carried 250 adult passengers, but she actually took 318 adults—an excess of 68 people.24 Here again one suspects Norman Nicolson's duplicity. Being paid a commission for the numbers he recruited, he would have had a financial incentive for cramming as many people as he could in the vessel's hold, irrespective of the legal limits, which were widely flouted.

William Danieli, *Voyage Round Great Britain* Volume III (1818), *Greenock on the Clyde. Courtesy of*

Birmingham Central Library, United Kingdom.

To make matter worse, the Highlanders left Greenock on the 1st of September, rather than "at the proper season of the year."[25] Judging from the very small number of children in the group, the company had tightly controlled the selection process and this no doubt contributed to the late sailing of the *Royal Adelaide.* The emigrants endured a 45-day crossing, arriving in Saint John in mid-October.[26] The *New Brunswick Courier* pronounced them to be "as valuable a description of settlers as have ever immigrated to this country." However, they certainly were not treated as valued settlers.[27] Proceeding on the steamer *Novelly* to Fredericton, they were "left to lie on the beach and in the lanes in the neighbourhood of the [Land] Commissioner's residence in St. Mary's for upwards of ten days, during which time they were exposed to the inclemency of the season."[28] Thus, they only arrived at what would become their "Scotch Settlement" sometime in November.[29] A petition, signed later by 33 family heads, reveals the full horror of the scene which confronted them:

> Your petitioners...were put in the most miserable hovels, so open that [they] were exposed to snow and rain and the piercing winds of winter—no chimneys were erected in any of the huts—and the provisions furnished...by the said company were of the very worst and the most unwholesome quality—so much so that a most fatal disease was brought on .... whereby upwards of 40 men, women and children died and many of the settlement are now in the most feeble and sickly state. Some of your petitioners during this first winter have had their wives and little ones lying for several successive days in their beds covered with snow.[30]

Although the company had promised to provide habitable log houses, it only supplied unfinished cabins, which were open to the elements. No land had been cleared and there were no crops waiting to be picked. The Highlanders felt "entirely abandoned" by the company, which gave them "no means of support, not even paying them for the labours which your petitioners bestowed on the Company's property during the past year." These were desperate people who were "subsisting on the charity of their neighbours."[31] Their neighbours were no doubt the 110 settlers from Northumberland (England) and the east Borders who, having arrived shortly before the Highlanders, had settled on company land close to Stanley.[32] Although they had problems of their own, their relocation had gone relatively smoothly.[33] However, the Skye settlers needed much more help. If it was not forthcoming soon they would "be beyond the reach of temporal assistance—as well as free from worldly suffering."[34]

By 1838 only around 120 people or 43 families were left in the settlement, indicating that more than half of the original group of 368 people had already dispersed and moved to other sites.[35] Some moved to Stanley and possibly

also to Fredericsburg,36 near Stanley or Scotch Lake, near Fredericton,37 while others went to other locations in the province, or to Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton (Figure 8).38 Their petition, sent in January of that year to the New Brunswick House of Assembly, was a turning point. Signed by thirty-three family heads, it exposed the terrible injustices done to them by the land company for all the world to see.39 When Sir John Harvey, the Lieutenant-Governor, visited Stanley seven months later, the settlers greeted him with yet another petition asking for aid, which was signed by eleven heads of households, including the people listed in the earlier petition.40

In its defence, the company claimed to have spent £80,000 over three years in developing the Stanley site.41 While accepting responsibility for failing to provide the Skye settlers with adequate housing, it felt that it all other respects the Skye settlers had been treated fairly. If anything, it had given them far more assistance than was generally provided. What was more, the settlers were aggravating the situation by rejecting offers of employment in road building "to force the company to support them in a comparative state of inactivity."42 Given that the settlers were furious with the company for reneging on its promise to give them free passages, this was a good negotiating ploy on their part. They certainly did not accept the investigators' claim that "before sailing they were undeceived" by being informed that they would have to pay their fares.43 After all, newspaper advertisements had appeared in Scotland, stating that free passages were being offered. In the end, the settlers' petitions shamed the company into accepting its negligence. It cancelled their debts and paid for 38 to 39 families to be relocated to Canada, the total bill coming to £4,000.44

Photograph of Mysie (Margery) MacDonald (1828-1906), one of the initial pioneers of the Scotch settlement near Stanley. Always barefoot in the summer, she wore handmade snowshoes in the winter. *Courtesy of Public Archives of New Brunswick P 37/292, Miscellaneous Photographic Collection.*

TABLE 14
Petition from 33 Skye Families to the New Brunswick House of Assembly, 1838

[PANB RS 24/1838 pe File 4 petition #77]

1. James MacKinnon
2. John Ferguson
3. Donald MacPhie
4. Ranald McDonell (x)
5. Archibald McDougald
6. Alan McDonald (x)
7. Ranald Smith (x)
8. Alexander Urquhart
9. Duncan McDougall (x)
10. Hugh McDonald
11. Martin McKinnon (x)
12. Rory McCuaig (x)
13. Widow McDonald (x)
14. John McLennan
15. Donald McDougall (x)
16. Donald Hossack

17 Donald McGillivray Snr. (x)
18 John Stewart (x)
19 Angus McDonell (x)
20 Alexander MacLeod
21 William Campbell (x)
22 Donald McRae (x)
23 John Gillis (x)
24 Neil McPherson
25 Charles McGillivray
26 Murdoch MacPherson
27 James MacLennan
28 Rory Matheson (x)
29 John Matheson (x)
30 Kenneth McKenzie (x)
31 Donald McMillan (x)
32 Austin MacDonald
33 Donald McGillivray Jnr

Witnesses:
John Urquhart
Donald McGillivray
Austin MacDonald

(x) His or her mark

Thus, most of the Skye settlers left the area. By 1851 only four of the original families remained, three of them headed by widows.45 Mysie MacDonald, daughter of the Widow MacDonald and one of the 23 children to have sailed in the *Royal Adelaide* in 1836, became the settlements last remaining inhabitant. She is still remembered today for her tremendous resourcefulness, physical strength and independent nature. Food was obtained by trapping animals, fishing and picking berries, while home was a cabin that she built herself. To acquire the other essentials of life, Mysie made brooms from small trees and bartered with them. Steeped in Highland folklore, she was feared for her acclaimed fortune-telling abilities, and, predictably, some people labelled her a witch.46

When Mysie's brother died in 1892, she carried her brother's body over her shoulders and walked eleven miles to the Roman Catholic cemetery in Stanley to bury him. She, herself, was later buried in this same cemetery. Her Catholic credentials strongly suggest that her family's roots were in the predominately Roman Catholic district of Moidart (West Inverness-shire) rather than Skye. Possibly the other three families who were living at the settlement in 1851 were also Moidart Catholics. Being only a small minority in the original group, they may have been the ones who kept the final embers of the Scotch Settlement alive during its final years.

The New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company had been instrumental in bringing a large group of Highlanders to the province, but by the later decades of the 19th century new forces would be at work. With the coming of steamships and the railways the influx of immigrants from Britain

to British North America reached phenomenal proportions. As the Prairies were filling up, the New Brunswick government sought to attract its share of willing colonizers to settle the great wildernesses that remained to be cleared in the more remote areas of the province. To this end a large tract of land was granted to an Aberdeenshire sea captain, who managed to attract one of the largest groups from his native Kincardineshire ever to reach New Brunswick.

CHAPTER EIGHT

LATER ARRIVALS: NEW KINCARDINESHIRE AND OTHER SETTLEMENTS

I can still hear the sound of the pipes pealing notes of inspiration from the decks of the "Ida Whittier" as she came around the bend of the river below Kilburn with its heavy load of new recruits for these hills and brooks.[1]

The arrival of large numbers of Scottish settlers to the Upper St. John Valley in 1873 caused considerable excitement as people from far and wide assembled at the wharf to greet them. Over 500 people, all from the northeast of Scotland, embarked that year from Glasgow to take up their holdings in New Kincardineshire in Victoria County. They came well recommended, being described in the *Glasgow Herald,* as "a healthier and better-clad body of emigrants than those who usually left our shores."[2] Nor was there "one case of intoxication or any other state approaching that common debasement" among the passengers as they prepared to leave, a rare occurrence at this time.[3] The mood had been more sombre than jovial as people assembled on the ship's deck to be led in prayer by the convener of the Colonial Committee of the Free Church until it was time to depart. The people had high hopes of creating a new and better life for themselves, although they had little inkling of the problems that lay in store for them.

These Scots were following in the footsteps of a much smaller group who had settled a decade earlier in Glassville, in the northern stretches of Carleton County. This community, named after its founder, a Presbyterian minister by the name of the Charles Gordon Glass, was located in the aptly named Parish of Aberdeen (Figure 8).[4] Having lived through the general trade and agricultural depression, which hit the northeast of Scotland during the 1840s, the Reverend Glass decided to relocate to New Brunswick. After 20 years experience as an immigrant, he acquired land on the St. John River above Woodstock and returned to his native Aberdeen to recruit settlers. The Presbyterian Church of New Brunswick warmly backed his venture as did the provincial government, which was anxious to attract its share of immigrants. In the end, some 30 families left for New Brunswick in 1861 on a ship chartered by the Reverend Glass. Their numbers were augmented later when

already-settled Scots relocated to Glassville from Saint John, Kings, Queens, York and Carleton counties.5

All was not well initially. There were reports that people had been poorly treated during the ship's crossing and that some had paid considerable sums for land of dubious quality, land that the Reverend Glass did not control.6 Yet, although some of the early settlers moved on to the United States, the majority remained.7 The inferior land allegation is highly questionable since Glassville became known for its good agricultural land, later being the home of the Aberdeen Agricultural Society, "one of those societies well known for the intelligence and enterprise of its members."8 Later on, when lumbering companies became established along the Southwest Miramichi River, the community's job prospects improved.9 Within a decade Glassville had overcome its initial difficulties and visitors were impressed by its well-managed farms and general state of well-being. By 1893 it would have an impressive array of churches, schools, hotels, stores, workshops, sawmills gristmills and carding machines.10

Mindful of the need to promote New Brunswick's merits to prospective immigrants, the House of Assembly had appointed James Brown as the provincial emigration agent in 1861.11 Part of his remit was to remedy the perceived damage caused by the unfavourable publicity that the Reverend Glass had apparently brought upon himself.12 However, this was yesterday's news, and, as Brown soon discovered when he gave nearly 60 public lectures, most people simply wanted to learn about the realities of life in the province. Concentrating his efforts mainly in Scotland, Brown went to Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen and toured extensively in Angus, Fife, the Lothians, Berwickshire, Perthshire, various parts of the northeast and the southwest, and even managed to get to Shisken and Lamlash in Arran.13 Yet, his influence was minimal. Forces far greater than his persuasive powers were determining who would emigrate to the province. Such a group was the 139 settlers from Fair Isle (Shetland), who were being evicted from their crofts in 1862.

Surprisingly, their departure in a "first class passenger ship" provided by Handyside and Henderson, a Glasgow shipping agency, had featured in Brown's promotional material, although it is doubtful that his audiences would have appreciated the background to this particular sailing.14 "The ship will be fitted up in the very best manner under the personal superintendence of Captain Stewart [emigration officer for the Clyde] and the passengers will be abundantly supplied with the best description of provisions and stores."15 They may well have sailed in a fine ship, but they showed every sign of having been forced to emigrate by their landlord. Public and privately raised funds were being used to fund their relocation costs, and, as Brown ruefully acknowledged, had he the ability to authorize such funding, "we could get as many as we want" to emigrate to the province.16

Having sailed from Glasgow on the *Olympia* on the May 17, the Fair Isle

settlers arrived at Saint John on the June 26, 1862, after "a fine passage of 29 days."[17] The quarantine doctor at Saint John apparently had "never inspected a lot of immigrants in better order or reflecting so much credit on [the ship's] captain and doctor," while the passengers "speak in high terms of the kindness and attention shown them by Captain Tobias and the officers of the ship."[18] The Board of Supervision for the Relief of the Poor in Scotland, which had stepped in to finance and organize their crossing, provided them with the sum of £52. 10 s. on landing, a payment that had to be shared among them.[19] And Lauchlan Donaldson, President of the Saint Andrew's Society of Saint John, ministers of the Presbyterian churches and "a number of influential Scottish gentlemen" were on standby, promising to take "a great interest" in their well-being.[20] How fortunate the emigrants were that this level of support was available since they were completely destitute when they arrived!

Although it was thought initially "that a considerable number of settlers have located themselves in the counties of Carleton and Victoria,"[21] the reality was that none of them were in a position to go anywhere without help. Being housed initially in Saint John's old Poor House, "they were given food and other necessaries" from the funds placed by the government at the disposal of Lauchland Donaldson and Robert Shives, the provincial emigration officer.[22] "The charitably disposed of the city furnished the women and children with a large quantity of clothing and many things of which they stood greatly in need." Then, on the 6th of July, six families (33 people) "were forwarded by rail and steamer to Bathurst and through "the kindness and attention of John Ferguson were all placed in good employment there."[23] Two days later, thirteen families (72 people) left for Chatham in the Miramichi, where "they were comfortably housed free of rent by the people there."[24] Most of the men eventually found employment in Newcastle, Douglastown, Chatham, Neguac and Nelson. Possibly the Fair Isle place name near Tabusintac in Alnwick Parish is a lasting reminder of their presence in the Miramichi (Figure 5).

The remarkable kindness and hospitality shown to the Fair Isle emigrants by the people of New Brunswick was never reported in Scotland. Instead press attention was concentrated solely on Sir John McNeill's efforts as chairman of the Board of Supervision in organizing their departure. The names of the people who had donated funds towards their emigration costs were published in the Edinburgh *Daily Review,* together with a glowing account of the *Olympia's* crossing; however, readers were spared details of the penniless state of the emigrants when they arrived at Saint John.[25] Few other Scots emigrated to the province during the 1860s, but the following decade saw the arrival of the New Kincardineshire settlers, the largest Scottish group ever to come to the province.

New Kincardineshire was the brainchild of William Brown, a sea captain who worked for the Anchor Line. Having had the regular experience of taking ships across the Atlantic, he had noticed how people made fleeting friendships

during a voyage but dispersed when they landed. He felt that if people from one area of Scotland emigrated together they could give each other mutual support and preserve their traditions, thus providing themselves with a more secure base to build a new community.[26] Receiving enthusiastic backing for his "family colonization" scheme from the New Brunswick government, Brown travelled to western New Brunswick with Stonehaven farmer, Robert Stewart, to select his 50,000 acre site.[27] And it was no accident that they chose a location close to the Glassville. Its obvious success would help to sell the venture to people in the northeast of Scotland, and this Brown did with great gusto. Spending the autumn and winter of 1872 in Scotland, he presented a series of public lectures, concentrating on his home county of Kincardineshire and selecting the town of Stonehaven as his principal recruiting ground.

Brown and the provincial government worked closely on the arrangements for the new colony. The government granted Brown the land at his chosen site, which he named New Kincardineshire. It also agreed to have the land surveyed, build roads and provide each family with a log house and up to four acres of cleared land on each 200-acre lot.[28] For his part, Brown would recruit 100 families, organize their departure and ensure their safe arrival at Saint John. Although people with farming skills were particularly desired, Brown also sought skilled tradesmen and professional people to ensure the smooth running of the new community. The emigrants would sail on a steamship and be required to pay a fare of *£7* and also contribute towards the cost of a stove and groceries, which would be delivered to the settlers' houses just before they were due to arrive. Earlier, Brown "had intimated his intention of assisting ten poor families, of the agricultural class, to the extent of *£20* for each family."[29] It all seemed very attractive and early indications showed that Brown would easily attract sufficient numbers.[30]

To be certain of a good response, Thomas Potts, the government emigration agent for Canada, was sent to the northeast of Scotland to assist Brown in his promotional work. At a lecture hall in Stonehaven in August 1872, Potts "dwelt at considerable length on the inducements" offered by the provincial government and concluded "by urging on those that wished to become independent, and see their families in a good position of life, to take advantage of the present scheme, as he was assured that such an opportunity could only occur once in a lifetime."[31] These sentiments were echoed by the *Stonehaven Journal,* which had "little doubt that a good many of the farmers and farm servants within the county will show they share the same feeling by joining in the ranks of the colony. Now is the time; the opportunity may not occur again."[32] Brown reminded people that the new colony would be a true home from home. "There will be but one form of society, social customs and schools, one form of politics, one language and one religion."[33] Later, the *Aberdeen Journal* would note that "even the name given to the settlement and the districts into which it is divided and subdivided will keep fresh among the

settlers the memory of the old associations and their former homes."[34]

The surveyor general's visit to Perth in the Fall of 1872 provided the first hint of trouble. His assurance that "there is still time to build 100 houses"[35] had a disquieting ring to it and contrasted sharply with Brown's claim that the "timber for the houses is under preparation and all will be in perfect readiness to receive the party in May."[36] Yet, by January 1873 Brown was becoming increasingly concerned by the large number of applicants who were coming forward, and because he feared "that the government will not be able to get ready the necessary houses and clearings for any more," refused to accept any additional recruits."[37] Nevertheless, the bandwagon had started and Brown ensured that the colony continued to get favourable mention in the *Stonehaven Journal.* Having the editor as a friend must have helped. Suddenly supportive letters began appearing written by people who had spent time in New Brunswick.[38] One letter, from Elspeth Knowles, a domestic servant from Stonehaven who had emigrated to Saint John, made her new life sound particularly tempting:

The Coat of Arms of the City of Aberdeen c. 1885, which displays the motto "Bon Accord." The New Kincardineshire colonists named one of their communities Bon Accord to commemorate their northeast of Scotland roots. *Reproduced by permission of the City of Aberdeen.*

> You may tell all the servant girls about Stonehaven that I never was so well off. The people here are not so proud and their servants live as they do themselves. You get a nicely furnished room for yourself—a mirror you can see yourself in from top to toe. You could have your clothes warm every morning if you chose, for there is a stove that burns all night and pipes running through the house to keep it warm. The servants in Stonehaven do not enjoy the same comfort as the servant in Saint John, although they work for little more than half the wages.[39]

Shortly before his colonists were due to leave for Saint John, Brown announced that he had spoken to the Aberdeen Free Presbytery in the hope of securing the services of a minister. He would earn a salary of £60 per year in addition to having a 300-acre plot of glebe land.[40] Nothing was being left to chance. An advance group was summoned into action in March. They sailed on the Anchor Line steamship, the *Trinacaria,*"to expedite the preparations for the arrival of the colonists."[41] The list of applications for the departure of the main group was officially closed on the 15th of April and a new list for departure in April 1874 was begun. Then, ten days later, a train began its journey to Glasgow, calling at various stations while running "with the utmost accuracy to a minute."[42] It was a major feat of planning:

> On Friday morning [April 25th] a special train left Kintore *en route* to Glasgow. It arrived in Aberdeen at 8.00 a.m. and large number of people

were assembled in the station to bid them farewell. After a short stay the train left with 200 passengers. Stoppage was made at Stonehaven and other smaller towns and villages...where the greatest number joined, and families were added at different stations up to Perth. However, the greatest number by far was from Aberdeen and Kincardineshire. The special train left Perth with 500 emigrants, the remainder having previously made their way to Glasgow. On their arrival in Glasgow, the emigrants immediately embarked on board the *Castalia* steamer and left Finnieston Quay on Friday night, all to the number of 674 in the best of health and spirits.43

TABLE 15

Passenger List for the *Castalia* Crossing in 1873 (New Kincardineshire Settlers)

[Anon., *The Scotch Colony,* 13-20]

John McCulloch, Esq.
Colin Crasser, farmer, wife and son
Robert Stewart, farmer
Miss Taylor
Chas. W. Schultz
Capt. Reid of Yarmouth
Wm. Clarkson, carpenter
John Bannerman, farmer
James Sullivan, farmer
Capt. Gray
David Irvine, farmer
Mr. Stewart
Angus McLennan, joiner, wife and three children
Chas. Chapman, farmer, wife and seven children
David Johnston, farmer, wife and nine children
Arthur Robertson, currier, and wife
Wm. Duncan, farmer, and wife and nine children
David Mitchell, mason, and wife
Alex. Stevenson, farmer, and wife
James McNichol, servant, and wife
Jessie Mackenzie, farmer, wife and one child
Margaret Adamson, servant
Duncan Munroe, joiner, and wife
Alex Davidson, farmer, wife and three children
Wm. Fletcher, currier, wife and three children
Benjamin Fletcher, tinsmith
Alex Keith, farmer, and wife
Alex Lawson, farmer, wife and three children
Jas. Adamson, farmer, and wife
John Davidson, farmer
David Annand, farmer
John Wood, farmer
Wm. Andrews, farmer
James Richardson, farmer
David Watson, farmer
David Forbes, farmer
Andrew Wilson, farmer, and wife
Wm. Scott, farmer
David Fraser, farmer, and wife

Peter Fleming, farmer, and wife
Wm. McConnell, farmer, and wife and one child
David Edwards, farmer, and wife
Robt. Pyott, farmer, wife and four children
David Cunningham, farmer, wife and five children
John Graham, farmer, wife and three children
David Stewart, farmer
John Cyril, farmer
Wm. Moore, farmer
Robert Dunlop, farmer
James Drummond, farmer
Thos. Young, farmer
Jas. Hutchinson, farmer
Harry Smith, farmer
Alex Mackie, farmer
Wm. McPhail, farmer, wife and three children
Alex. McPhail, farmer, wife and two children
Andrew Dunbar
Robert McNeal, farmer, wife and two children
David McNeal, farmer
Thos. McNeal, farmer, wife and two children
Alex. McNeal, farmer, and wife
Alex. McNeal, farmer
James Hunter, jr., C., wife and son
Andrew Hunter
Robert Hunter, mason, wife and four children
Archd. Campbell, servant
Hamilton Moffat, gentleman, wife and six children
John Johnston, servant
James Agnew, farmer
John Patterson, farmer
Agnes Patterson, farmer
George Bell, farmer
David Maclaren, engineer
Neil McLaren, servant
Edward Gray, carpenter, wife and two children
John Maddin, housekeeper, children
Mary Munroe, housekeeper
James McLaughlin, wife and two children
Mrs. Hart
Jessie Ford McHardie, housekeeper, and four children
Eliza Mockler, housekeeper, and seven children
Thomas McPherson
Robt. McIntosh
Sarah Howie
Violet Rae
Geo. Craig
Wm. Howie
N.W Howie
Donald Fraser
Chas. Stuart, farmer, wife and three children
John McKenzie, farmer, and wife
W.B. Mann, farmer
Wm. Mann, carrier
Daniel McPherson, farmer, wife and two children
Ferdinand Robertson, farmer, wife and four children
Geo. Robertson, farmer, wife and three children
Alex. Matheson, farmer, wife and two children
Thomas Berry, mason, wife and one child

Wm. Anderson, servant, wife and six children
Wm. Wright, labourer, wife and four children
Peter Findlater, farmer, wife and two children
Andrew Wilson, farmer, wife and five children
Thos. Mason, farmer, wife and two children
Peter MacCaw, farmer, and wife
Robt. Cocker, labourer, and wife and two children
Alex. Wobster, farmer, wife and four children
Robt. Watson, farmer, wife and two children
John Leighton, farmer, wife and two children
Robt. Taylor, labourer, and wife three children
Peter Archer, farmer, wife and three children
Andrew Reid, joiner, wife and one child
Wm. Hopter, wright, wife and three children
Donald Watt, farmer, wife and seven children
Jas. Adam, farmer, wife and five children
Alex. Watson, farmer, wife and three children
Mary Walker, wife and six children
Wm. Peters, farmer, wife and ten children
Alex. Watson, farmer, wife and seven children
David Craig, farmer, wife and three children
Margaret Cumming, servant
John Malcolm, farmer, wife and four children
Chas. Lindsay, wife and two children
Sarah Sheppard, servant, wife and one child
Alex. Mitchell, wife and one child
John Smith, farmer, wife and one child
Miss Wemyss, housekeeper
Robt. Stewart, labourer
John Stewart, farmer, wife and two children
Alex. Stewart, farmer
James Stewart, farmer
Henry Stewart, farmer
Charles Stewart, farmer

Although the *Castalia,* an Anchor Line steamship under the command of Captain William Butler, was reported to have 674 passengers, only around 530 were actually destined for the New Kincardineshire colony.44 A passenger list for the crossing indicates that just under 586 passengers were on the ship, but some of them were going to destinations other than New Kincardineshire (Table 15).45 Thus, there is considerable confusion over the precise number of passengers who actually travelled on the *Castalia.* Whatever the actual number, this was a substantial group who apparently left with a total of £25,000, which, as the *Aberdeen Journal* commented, "seems a large sum under the circumstances."46 Having plenty of time to contemplate their future on the crossing, the passengers decreed that taverns would not be allowed in the colony and that "no intoxicating liquor" would be sold.47

As had been intended by William Brown, the passengers consisted almost entirely of families who, between them, had 198 children under the age of 12. Many of the passengers succumbed to seasickness and a severe gale was experienced during the crossing.48 According to William Cummings, one of the passengers who suffered from excruciating seasickness, the *Castalia* was an "old tub" that apparently survived for only two more voyages before sinking.49 Yet this view is at odds with another report that stated that she was

"a very fine steamer that had just completed the first voyage out and in."[50] George Troup, an Aberdeen businessman who accompanied the group, described their relief as the ship neared Nova Scotia, "that our passage, nearly closed, had been in a good ship and under most skilful and always watchful guidance."[51] Also when the quarantine officer boarded her he found "the cleanliness of the vessel both above and below decks and her admirable facilities for ventilation were worthy of every praise."[52] There can be little doubt that the *Castalia* was a good ship.

The *Castalia* duly arrived at Saint John on May 10, after a crossing of 14 days. The baby girl born during the crossing was christened Castalia, such was the enthusiasm of her parents for the venture.[53] As news spread that she was approaching, "flags were flung to the breeze...and there was a general movement of citizens towards the wharves."[54] The chaplain of the Saint Andrew's Society of Saint John delivered "an address of a welcome" that was received with hearty applause.[55] Later that evening a large number of Saint John residents "including many ladies," went on the *Castalia* to hear the addresses of welcome from the mayor and a government official, the speeches being interspersed "with music from a military band on deck."[56]

The emigrants then sailed up the St. John River to Fredericton in steamers and spent their first night in temporary accommodation at the Court House. But, when they reached their final destination their happy mood changed to despair.[57] Arriving at an unfinished mud-strewn site, David Taylor was horrified by the squalor that greeted him, and, like some others, made immediate plans to return to Scotland:

> The people that came out are leaving by the dozen, and I expect that before the summer is over they will all have vanished. Part of the colonists arrived here on Monday and the other part on Tuesday evening and since that time their luggage has been lying about on the river bank, and all is disorder and confusion. There is only a road constructed for about 6 miles out, and the houses beyond that are not yet built. Several families are crowded together in one house, while a good many are lodged in tents on the bank of the river.[58]

Another angry settler wrote to the *Montrose Review* claiming that he "never saw such a miserable looking place in my life" and that about half of the colonists had left "and others are leaving every day." Brown was to blame and, as far as he was concerned, "drowning is not bad enough for him."[59] However, a letter from James Edward's brother, published in the same newspaper edition, presented things in a very different light:

> Owing to the bad season, the Government have only got about half the houses ready, and only part of the stipulated portion of the land cleared. They have, however, done everything possible to make provision for those emigrants who are homeless. The military tents have been brought from

> Fredericton and abundance of food has been afforded. They have every man and boy, who will work, employed on the roads, and every available joiner has been secured for the completion of the remainder of the houses. ...There are four windows in my house, which, as far as I have experienced it, is comfortable, and has a well-shingled roof...60

According to press reports, which may have been organized by William Brown, it would seem that the numbers leaving the colony had been greatly exaggerated with most of the settlers feeling optimistic about their prospects. Within a week of their arrival the *Aberdeen Free Press* published a letter stating that "the majority of colonists were remarkably well satisfied and their prospects seem very good." Apparently, complaints were coming from a small number of people who had "decided to be dissatisfied."61 A farmer who lived near New Kincardineshire reported that its settlers were undertaking the forest clearing and road building jobs, which the government had failed to complete in time, and predicted that there would be "grand farms" in the new colony.62

A colonist, who "was much disappointed by the look of things," when he first arrived, felt considerably better about his future by the summer. "I have been working on the roads this week, earning _£1.10s per week. The place here is looking beautiful now—trees for miles and miles around, with raspberries and strawberries everywhere. I was offered 100 dollars for my place as it is but I would not sell...but by the time I write I have got into the house, and things don't look so bad. I am going to give it a fair trial."63 And John Morrison stated that he only rejected the house initially allocated to him because he was dissatisfied with the location of his lot. "After looking around me," he eventually bought a plot with a river frontage.64 Meanwhile, Donald Fraser immediately established himself in the timber trade, purchasing a sawmill at Rivière de Chute, just to the east of the St. John River. Moving to Plaster Rock on the Tobique River, he founded Donald Fraser and Sons, and by 1916 it would become the largest lumbering firm in the Maritimes.65

The Bon Accord School, which was one of four to be built in the New Kincardine colony. Religious services were also held in the school. *Courtesy of Public Archives of New Brunswick MC 712 MSI.*

With all of their problems and difficulties the settlers were unable to plant their crops until late in the season, doing so on hastily cleared land. Their plight was further compounded by job layoffs on the local railway, which left many of the men unemployed. Thomas Watt wrote to the Saint Andrew's Society of Saint John on behalf of the settlers asking for help and was given a cheque for $100, which was to be spent at Watt's discretion.66 Although times were tough, the colonists were beginning to settle down. A woman who initially felt like leaving, having spent her first night in a house with no door, windows or floor, told Thomas Watt that under no circumstances would she now return to Scotland.67 Watt himself believed that in time New Kincardineshire would be seen as a "model colony, distinguished in the

highest degree for enterprise and industry."[68]

Melville Church at Kincardine, the "mother church" of the New Kincardineshire colony, completed in 1878. *Courtesy of Public Archives of New Brunswick MC1Í2 MSI.*

And a Mr. A. Hunter wrote home at about this time to say that his prospects were looking good:

> The potato crop was good—60 bushels. The oats crop had been good...I worked on the road till the month of October when it was stopped, and in my odd time managed to clear about three acres. After the road stopped most of the men went to work on the railway now in course of construction. The snow commenced to lie on the ground on the 10th November, and since then I have chopped down about 5 acres of wood, which, with the Government chopping, makes 9 acres. ...The railway work has commenced within a mile or two of the colony, only about 30 men being presently employed...the wages paid is 5s. pre day...In conclusion, I may state that, so far as we can know, this is a very healthy country...[69]

By July 1873, ninety log houses had been completed, and despite the dire prediction of mass withdrawals at the beginning, most of the original settlers remained at the site. A total of 15 people had returned to Scotland, another 15 had gone to the United States, 18 had moved to Saint John or Fredericton and 37 had taken up land grants elsewhere in the province. Of the 449 people who stayed, 75 had taken up seasonal employment while 374 were busy clearing land.[70] Thus, despite its teething problems, the colony was making good progress. Its success was further reinforced by the arrival of a second group of 200 people from the northeast of Scotland in the following year. Led by George Troup, they left the Clyde on the *Sidonia,* yet another Anchor Line steamship, and arrived at Saint John on the 14th of May. Their houses being ready for them, they had a much easier time than their predecessors, although life remained arduous and fraught with difficulties.[71] Others followed them "and for a dozen years single families or small groups trickled in to join their friends."[72]

New Kincardineshire soon took shape as four separate communities began to evolve. The Parish of Perth was effectively divided into two parts. In the southern section was the Stonehaven section, which became Kincardine and Bon Accord, while the upper half contained the Kintore section, which retained its original name, becoming Lower and Upper Kintore.[73] Predictably, the settlers placed a high priority on building their schools and churches and by 1877 each of the four localities had a school.[74] Much of the credit for this achievement goes to their first minister, the Reverend Peter Melville, who arrived in 1875.

The Reverend Gordon Campbell Pringle, the long-serving minister who first arrived at New Kincardineshire in 1896. *Courtesy of Public Archives of New Brunswick MC7Ì2 MSP*

And a year later, Melville Church was ready to be opened, having been built with an interest-free loan from the Reverend Melville.75 In addition, the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland gave a £100 grant to the church fund, while Captain William Butler donated the ship's bell from the *Castalia* to the cause. Upper Kintore soon had its church, and by 1909 a third church was constructed at Lower Kintore.

Seventeen years later, when the church was self-supporting, it welcomed the Reverend Gordon Pringle who took charge of the congregation, remaining there for nearly 56 years.76 Like many in his congregation, he originated from the northeast of Scotland. Having spent three years as a ranch hand on sheep farms in New Zealand and Australia before coming to take up his new post, he had some experience of the rough and tumble of pioneer life. Possibly his varied career helped him to be more approachable and convivial than most ministers. He always spoke from the heart about "a God of nature, a God they all knew well—a God that was part and parcel of their daily life" and was particularly well-remembered for his home visits:

> In winter he travelled in a sleigh wearing a heavy racoon coat and a large fur bonnet with an oven-heated stone at his feet. He ventured out in all weathers and during storms sometimes walked ahead and broke the road for his horse. In summer he travelled in a light cart. He was welcomed at every home and was always invited in to share a meal.77

With its frame houses, frame barns, orchards, gardens and fields without tree stumps, New Kincardineshire soon became known for its pastoral beauty and well-managed farms—and also for its debating societies! The annual Burns Night celebration became the highlight of the social calendar and for many decades it really was the Scotch Colony. Like so many other emigrant Scots, the first settlers had overcome enormous hurdles and endured great privations. They had set themselves apart from the rest of society for as long as they could, but they did not have a monopoly on who else would settle in western New Brunswick. Later on, as their communities became ethnically mixed, memories of a Scottish homeland receded, but they still made strenuous efforts to preserve their customs and traditions.

CHAPTER NINE

WITH AXE AND BIBLE

Go where you might in Canada you could not get away from Scotchmen.[1]

The banquet speaker at the centennial celebration of the Saint Andrew's Society of Saint John, held in 1898, was expressing the high profile enjoyed by Scots, not their numbers. At this time Scots represented only around 14 per cent of the total population of the province. And yet their impact and influence had been immense. Scottish achievements in business owed much to their networking abilities. Their principal business club in Saint John was the Saint Andrew's Society through which they promoted their inter-related interests. The Society also dispensed funds for good causes and encouraged the expression of Scottish culture in all its forms, especially traditional singing and dancing. Flourishing throughout the 19th century it gave members a platform for declaring "the qualities that distinguish the Scotchman, and have put him in the front rank in every walk of life." This was self-belief bordering on conceit, but it was understandable given the phenomenal success of Scots in business and in the professions.[2] In fact, Scottish influence and power extended far beyond the city to the province and, even beyond this, to the overall country. Scots took pride in the knowledge that 24 members in the Canadian parliament "could converse in Gaelic" and that the country's premiers "were, almost without exception Gaelic."[3]

Of course, such men were an elite few. The majority of New Brunswick's immigrant Scots were humble farmers, lumberers or a combination of the two. Many had been attracted to the province by its massive timber trade. They hoped that the prevalence of Scottish-born merchants, shipbuilders and sawmill owners would give them an entrée into the business opportunities associated with the trade. The early and steady influx of Scots to the province was undoubtedly driven by the many jobs to be had in the diverse, small-scale enterprises, that were being bankrolled by Scottish entrepreneurs. And with the clannish tendencies of the Scottish proprietors to help them, they could expect to receive preferential treatment over other ethnic groups. That is why Scots were so well-represented in the late 18th century influx of immigrants to the Miramichi. Seizing the best locations along river frontages and timber

bays, they cultivated their land and produced many of the region's earliest pioneer settlements.

Saint John had been a great magnet for Scottish Loyalists. Taking their experience, business contacts and capital with them from the United States, they adapted easily to their new environment and became an immediate success. Thanks largely to their entrepreneurial efforts, Scots became the dominant economic force in the city by the late 1780s. A decade later, "Scotch Row" was the principal commercial street of Saint John, and goods were being auctioned or exchanged at McPhail's Tavern, the city's unofficial trading centre.4

Scots owned most of the city's commercial houses. Operating within cliques, each man had access to a network of fellow Scots who were based either in the city, other Maritime ports, the St. Lawrence ports of Quebec and Montreal or in foreign ports. Firms run by the Glasgow-born William Pagan, the Morayshire-born Hugh Johnston, the Aberdeen-born John Black and the New York Loyalist, Andrew Crookshank, initially controlled much of Saint John's trade with the outside world. With their help, the Greenock-based Christopher Scott, established the city's first ever shipyard in 1800, and in doing so, transferred hundreds of experienced craftsmen from the Clyde to the city.5 Later on, the Montrose-born John Wishart, Laughlan MacDonald, great grandson of one of the surviving MacDonalds of the Glencoe massacre,6 James Kirk, born in St. Andrews (Fife), and the Aberdeenshire-born John Duncan were the pre-eminent merchants of their day.7 Such men were the backbone of the Saint Andrew's Society. The Society continues into the 21st century, but with a declining membership and today's grant-aid is mainly geared towards educational causes.

Fredericton's Saint Andrew's Society, founded in 1825, had aims similar to the Society in Saint John. It gave "pecuniary relief to such natives of Scotland and their descendants as may have fallen into distress," promoted "a taste for Scottish music and literature" and acted as a social club for local businessmen.8 Its 26 founder members included Peter Fraser, a prominent merchant, George Smith, grandson of the famous economist, Adam Smith, author of *The Wealth of Nations,* and John Simpson, a later president of the Central Bank of New Brunswick. It was the driving force behind the building of Fredericton's St. Paul's Church in 1832; but its most enduring achievement was the construction of the city's Robbie Burns statue. The Society erected the stature partly to pay tribute to the great poet, but also "to foster Scottish sentiment and strengthen the ties of Scottish brotherhood throughout the province."9

Statue of Robert Burns on Queen Street, Fredericton. It overlooks the Legislative Assembly building. Burns had a deep capacity for love and friendship and became a cult figure. Annual Burns Suppers remain the highlight of social calendars, not just in the province, but the world over. *Photograph by Lucille Campey.*

Built at a time when the Society's role and membership were in sharp

decline, the bronze statue is a magnificent visual reminder of the immense contribution made by Scots to the province's settlement and economic development.10 Such was Burns' appeal that some people believed that he "came to this earth, sent of God, to help the humble man."11 And yet, opinions were divided at the time, with some members believing that money would be better spent on the relief of "poverty or distress" than on a statue.12 However, the pro-statue members won the day. The statue of a man, who cared passionately about democratic and social values and the needs of ordinary people, now graces the Fredericton Green.

Although Scots were famous for their entrepreneurial talents, they also had a strong sense of a national identity and took pride in the traditions and customs that they associated with their homeland. It was only a matter of time before the Highland Society of New Brunswick would come into existence, doing so in 1842 at a meeting of the Saint Andrew's Society of Saint John. Four years later it changed its name to "the Highland Society of New Brunswick at Miramichi."13 Being an offshoot of the Highland Society of London,14 which was formed in 1778, its aims were principally to preserve "the language, martial spirit, dress, music and antiquities of the ancient Caledonians,., rescue from oblivion the valuable remains of Celtic literature" and support Gaelic Schools.15 The principal founder was Roderick Charles Macdonald, a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Castle Tioram Regiment of Highlanders of Prince Edward Island, who was paymaster of the 30th Regiment, then manning the garrison in Saint John.16 The other leading lights were James Gilmour and Alexander Rankin, two of the great timber barons of the Miramichi, Alexander Key, a senior health officer for the port of Miramichi, and Alexander Fraser, a sawmill owner. Still in existence today, it provides university scholarships for students of Scottish descent.

Since success and sobriety were judged to go together, members of the various Scottish Societies in the province increasingly shunned whisky drinking. Alcoholism, which had been prevalent in Scottish cities from the early 19th century, was fast becoming a serious social problem in the province as well. The Saint Andrew's Society of Saint John's 1846 banquet "was a temperance dinner" and by the late 19th century "delicious coffee and sparkling water" had replaced alcohol as the principal beverages.17 And, from its inception, the Society only dispensed funds to "the poor and friendless" if it was certain that their beneficiaries had not fallen victim to "the drink habit."18 Temperance societies sprouted, and, by the end of the century, many members of St. Andrew's Societies were teetotallers.19

The St. Andrew's Societies, which regularly raised funds for charitable causes, reflected the civic-minded attitudes of their members. The younger brother of Alexander Rankin, Robert Rankin, funded mechanics' institutes, temperance societies and orphan's homes and was one of the great Scottish entrepreneurs of his day. The philanthropic Lord Beaverbrook (Max Aitken), of more recent times, made numerous benefactions to the University of New

Brunswick, founded an art gallery and endowed Chatham and Newcastle with various parks and buildings. Although not in their league, there were many other Scottish luminaries who made important contributions to the New Brunswick communities in which they lived.

Churches and schools were always given top priority, partly because they were regarded as being essential to the continued survival of Scottish culture. However, the most powerful symbol of the old homeland was probably the sound of the pipes, with the kilt being a close second. Traditional music helped to maintain a sense of Scottish solidarity, although in time the tunes, lyrics and instruments began to change as other ethnic influences gained ground. By the end of the 19th century "music selections" at Saint Andrew's Society functions were "not what they once were," since by then more modern music and dances were becoming more fashionable.20 Meanwhile, bagpipes and fiddles also had their place in more humble surroundings. As Abraham Gesner noted in his *Notes for Emigrants,*"Every settlement should have its fiddler or piper... and occasionally a little innocent recreation. It cheers the mind of the emigrant amidst his early struggles and privations."21

Later on, Scottish settlers also wrote poems and songs about their early experiences thus contributing to the more recent tradition of Maritime folk-singing. "The Miramichi Fire" song, heard at Derby Junction in 1953, is a typical example. Sung by Mrs. Jean McDonald "in an interesting hard voice, all in her throat," to a traditional tune supplied by her father, it recounted the horrors of the great fire in 21 verses, the first and last being:

> It is the truth what I now tell you, for my
> eyes did partly see what did happen to the
> people on the banks of Miramichi—What did
> happen to the people on the banks of Miramichi
>
> It killed the wild beasts of the forests,
> In the river many fish.
> Such another horrid fire,
> See again, I do not wish.22

The New Brunswick Highland Society once promoted public displays of Highland symbolism and more recently the pipe bands and tartans of the Highland Games have given Scottish culture new life throughout the province.23 And yet, these symbols are modern inventions. They began appearing in the nineteenth century when Scotland was seeking a more distinctive national identity. Adopting the cultural emblems of its poorest region, Scotland redefined its heritage and gave itself a rich panoply of pipe bands and tartans.24 This same process also happened in the New World.25

Curling remains the most popular of the Scottish imports to the province. Being "essentially democratic and open to all classes," it still has enormous appeal.26 It is believed that curling was first played in New Brunswick by

officers of the Royal Highland Regiment (42nd), who were stationed at Saint John in 1853.27 The Fredericton Curling Club and the St. Andrews Curling Club of Saint John were founded a year or so later, while the St. Andrews Curling Club had a Ladies Branch by 1903–04. Curling clubs can now be found from one end of the province to the other, being particularly prevalent in areas of Northumberland, Kent, Charlotte, Restigouche and Victoria counties where Scots once predominated.

Fredericton Society of Saint Andrew's Pipe Band, 1954–55. Formed in 1927, it performs extensively on both sides of the Atlantic. Left to right: P/M Ivan Downie, Patrick Callaghan, Balfour Bailey, D.Wyers, Aubrey Hanson, David McKeown, Harry?, Edward Ferris, Kenneth Linford, Garret Nelson. *Courtesy of Public Archives of New Brunswick MC1057 Saint Andrew's Society of Fredericton, picture #10.*

Settlements often developed a distinctive Scottish identity through their associations with particular regions of Scotland. Names like Glenelg in Northumberland County and Atholville in Restigouche County are lasting reminders of the Highlanders who once colonized these areas of the province. Being Gaelic-speakers, they had good reason to cling together and were particularly grateful to be visited by Presbyterian ministers who spoke their language. Their language was a vital part of their heritage although its usage declined sharply in the later 19th century. Lowlanders also imported place names like Loch Lomond, Galloway and Kincardine, and most counties acquired at least one "Scotch Settlement."

Figure 9: Distribution of Scots in Restigouche, Northumberland and Kent Counties, 1851-61

Source: 1851 Census, Restigouche and Northumberland Counties,
1861 Census, Kent County

By the mid-19th century the greatest Scottish concentrations were to be found in the north of the province, especially in Restigouche County, along the Miramichi Bay and Southwest Miramichi River and along the Richibucto River (Figure 9). In the early 1870s, several hundred Kincardineshire immigrants had arrived in Victoria County. And yet Scottish numbers were never very great even with this later, large influx. By 1951 only 12 per cent of New Brunswick's population had Scottish ancestry, compared with a 30 per cent figure for Prince Edward Island and a 25 per cent figure for Nova Scotia. Meanwhile the population of all of the Maritime provinces had been declining, relative to the rest of Canada from the mid-19th century, as people left to take up the better farming and employment opportunities to be had in Ontario and in the United States.28

The Reverend William Aitken, father of Lord Beaverbrook, and the choir of St. James Presbyterian Church, Newcastle. The photograph was taken during the memorial service held on the death of Queen

Victoria. *Courtesy of Public Archives of New Brunswick P6/2 Ole Larson Fonds.*

Scottish settlers had probably been attracted to the province more by its timber industry than by its farming potential. However, in doing so they removed themselves from the main emigrant stream from Scotland, which flowed toward Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island and Upper Canada. This had repercussions for emigrant travel. The ships that were sent from Scotland to collect timber cargoes sometimes took emigrants in their holds. Yet, because the timber trade had generated such a huge volume of shipping, only a tiny proportion of ships ever did so. It was a small market, but on well-travelled routes some shipowners found it worth their while to attract business by offering ships with spacious proportions and experienced sea captains. So for those emigrants wishing to get to Halifax, Pictou, Sydney, Charlottetown or Quebec there was a service of sorts which catered for passengers.29 But for the small numbers wishing to sail to the Miramichi or Chaleur Bay, travel arrangements were basic. Passengers were treated as just another cargo and shipowners would have cared little for their creature comforts.

The one exception was the passenger trade from Dumfries to the Miramichi and Richibucto, which was sufficiently large to cause one or two shipowners to run regular transatlantic passenger services.30 The two-way traffic in timber and passengers, which operated for nearly ten years, relied on vessels like the *Augusta, Elizabeth, Jessie* and *Thompson's Packet.* They had good to reasonable ratings from Lloyds of London, with all but the *Augusta* being relatively new at the time of sailing (Appendix II).

However important outward symbols like the bagpipes may have been to emigrant Scots, it was through religion that they secured their links with the old homeland. Presbyterian values not only offered spiritual support but they also provided continuity with the past. However strange the environment, a Presbyterian minister would bring a part of Scotland with him whenever he visited. The Glasgow Colonial Society ministers were in a class of their own when it came to commitment, trudging over huge distances to tend to their scattered flocks. The Reverend Alexander MacLean, who came closest to understanding their trials and privations, attracted particularly large numbers to his services, that were often held in the outback:

> Thousands of emigrants from Scotland are yearly settling on our shores and along our extensive rivers. Not a few who are located in the interior of the country are now twenty or thirty miles from a church, and in many cases have no school to which they can send their children. Thus situated, they feel the want of those ordinances and privileges which they enjoyed so freely in Scotland; they feel that they are indeed in a strange land, and lament the necessity which led them to leave a country endeared by so many tender ties and recollections:—but, give them their Church, their minister, and their school, and they become, after a time, quite reconciled

to the land of their adoption.[31]

He was their lifeline and the importance of his visits and those of other ministers cannot be over-stated.

The timber trade and religion were the lynchpins of Scottish communities. The timber trade sustained settlers economically, while religion nurtured their sense of community and self-belief. The environment encountered by the early settlers was harsh and unforgiving and it would have defeated all but the hardiest and most determined of people. Yet emigrant Scots were particularly successful early colonizers. With axe and bible they overcame great hardships and peril and through their efforts created many of the province's most enduring pioneer settlements.

APPENDIX I

Ship Crossings from Scotland to New Brunswick, 1784-1848

Unless otherwise stated, the passenger number column refers to New Brunswick arrivals. In some crossings passengers also disembarked at other ports. Where known, the figures for these, which are additional to the New Brunswick numbers, are given in the comments field. However, only some of the New Brunswick arrivals actually settled in the province, with many passengers being in transit to the United States.

Passenger figures have been obtained from a wide variety of documentary sources. Some passenger figures are approximations and some are ambiguous. Uncertainties arise as to whether passenger numbers include all adults (not just heads of households) and children and infants. For details of the ships which carried the emigrants see Appendix II.

APPENDIX II

Characteristics of Vessels Listed in Appendix I

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Vessel Names
Vessel names often include the port at which the vessel is registered – e.g. *Rebecca* of Greenock. However, the port of registration is not always given.

Passenger Data
The number of crossings and cumulative passenger totals are provided for each vessel. For details of the individual crossings, see Appendix I.

Vessel Details
Information on the tonnage, vessel type, year built, place built and the Lloyd's Code have been taken from the *Lloyd's Shipping Register.*

Tonnage
This was a standard measure used to determine customs dues and navigation fees. Because it was a calculated figure, tonnage did not necessarily convey actual carrying capacity. Before 1836, the formula used to calculate tonnage was based only on breadth and length, but after 1836 it incorporated the vessel's depth as well.

Vessel Type
The word "ship" can signify a particular vessel type as well as having a generic usage in denoting all types of sea-going vessels. Sailing ship rigs were many and varied. A major distinction was the alignment of the sails. There were the square-rigged vessels in which the sails were rigged across the vessel and the fore-and-aft rigs, which followed the fore-and-aft-line of the vessel. The square rig was normally used on ocean-going vessels:

Brig (s) two-masted vessel with square rigging on both masts.
Barque (s) three-masted vessel, square-rigged on the fore and main masts and fore-and-aft rigged on the third aftermost mast. *Ship* (s) three-masted vessel, square-rigged on all three masts.
Schooner (s) fore-and-aft sails on two or more masts. Some had small square topsails on the foremast. They were largely used in the coasting trade and for fishing, their advantage being the smaller crew than that required by square-rigged vessels of a comparable size.

Snow (s) a brig, with square sails on both masts but with a small triangular sail mast stepped immediately towards the stern of the main mast.
Hermaphrodite brig (s) two-masted vessel, square-rigged on the foremast and fore-and-aft rigged on the mainmast.

Lloyd's Shipping Codes
These were assigned to vessels after periodic surveys according to their quality of construction, condition and age:

A1 first class condition, kept in the highest state of repair and efficiency and within a prescribed age limit at the time of sailing.
AE "second description of the first class," fit for safe conveyance, no defects but may be over a prescribed age limit.
E second class vessels which, although unfit for carrying dry cargoes, were suitable for long-distance sea voyages.
I third class vessels only suitable for short voyages (i.e. not out of Europe). The letters were followed by

the number 1 or 2 which signified the condition of the vessel's equipment (anchors, cables and stores). Where satisfactory, the number 1 was used, and where not, 2 was used.

Failure to locate vessels in the *Register* does not in itself signify its exclusion from the Lloyd's classification system. To select the relevant vessel from the *Register* it is usually necessary to know the tonnage and captain's name, information which is often elusive and problematic because of gaps in the available shipping and customs records.

NOTES

CHAPTER 1: THE FIRST PENCILS OF LIGHT

1 LAC (M-1353) Rev. MacLean to Rev. Burns, September 25, 1833.

2 Having suffered a heavy death toll as a result of their appalling living conditions, the Acadians at Beaubears Point moved on to the Restigouche region in 1756 but were forced out during the Battle of the Restigouche in 1760. Fleeing once again, they found a safe haven in the Gaspé region (Lower Canada).

3 Esther Clark Wright, *The Miramichi: A Study of the New Brunswick River and of the People Who Settled Along It* (Sackville, NB:Tribune Press, 1945) 14–7.

4 Ganong, W.E, "Monograph of the Origins of Settlements in the Province of New Brunswick," in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* 2nd series (10), sections 12 (1904) 118, 159.

5 Following Britain's victory in the Seven Years War (1756-63), the Treaty of Paris was signed, surrendering all French possessions in North America to the British apart from the tiny islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, (see Phillip Buckner, and John G. Reid (eds.), *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993) 143–55.

6 Joseph Bouchette, *The British Dominions in North America: a topographical and statistical description of the provinces of Lower and Upper Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, the Islands of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and Cape* Breton, Vol. II (London: 1832) 235.

7 For the early influx of Scots to Prince Edward Island see Lucille H. Campey, *A Very Fine Class of Immigrants: Prince Edward Island's Scottish Pioneers, 1770-1850* (Toronto: Natural Heritage, 2001) 16–47. For the early influx to Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, see Lucille H. Campey, *After the Hector: The Scottish Pioneers of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 1773-1852* (Toronto: Natural Heritage, 2004) 18–82.

8 For example, see the Scottish customs records for Greenock in 1792 (NAS E.504/15) which record timber cargo arrivals from Saint John on the *British Queen* and from St. Andrews on the *John and Mary.*

9 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 73–94.

10 LAC MG55/24#288: Edward Nicolas Kendall to C. Bridges, Feb. 20, 1839.

11 J. Hannay, *History of New Brunswick: Its Resources and Advantages,* Vol. 1 (Saint John, NB:John A. Bowers, 1909) 282–90.

12 Norman MacDonald, *Canada, Immigration and Settlement 1763–1841* (London: Longmans & Co., 1939) 512–25.

13 PP 1828 (148) Vol. XXI (Appendix to Colonel Cockburn's Report, 86).

14 Alexander Munro, *New Brunswick with a Brief Outline of Nova Scotia & Prince Edward Island* (Belleville, ON: Mika Studio, 1972) (first published 1855 by Richard Nugent, Halifax, NS) 187.

15 LAC MG29 A62: John Laing's Diary, 6. John Laing kept a diary of his impressions of the New Brunswick countryside during a visit in 1885.

16 In spite of widespread and repeated complaints within Britain over the high cost of timber, the protective tariffs remained in place until 1860. Ralph Davis, *The Industrial Revolution and British Overseas Trade,* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979) 48–9. Duties increased from 25s. per load in 1804 to 54s. 6d. per load in 1811.

17 NAS RH 2/4: Accounts of the Exports and Imports of the Provinces of North America, 1800–

1827.

18 Peter Fisher, *History of New Brunswick* (Saint John, NB: New Brunswick Historical Society, 1921) first published 1825, 85.

19 Bouchette, *British Dominions in North America*, Vol. 1, 132.

20 Patrick Campbell, *Travels in the interior; Inhabited Parts of British North America in 1790 and 1792* (Toronto: Champlain Society, Vol. 23, 1937) 46.

21 The *Inverness Journal* carried advertisements of ships that would be sailing from Cromarty for ports in Nova Scotia as well as the Miramichi, but no evidence has been found of any passengers having been taken. For example, the *Rose* of Cromarty and *Brothers* were to sail to Halifax, Pictou and the Miramichi in 1820–21 (see *IJ,* March 31, 1820, Feb. 23, 1821). A decade later, the Inverness-shire-born William Fraser, having lived in Pictou for 32 years, intended to charter a ship that was to sail from Inverness or Cromarty to Pictou, Cape Breton and New Brunswick (see *IJ,* Nov. 15, 1833).

22 For a description of the Dumfriesshire influx to Prince Edward Island, see Campey, *Very Fine Class of Immigrants,* 66–79.

23 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 76.

24 LAC MG24 142 Marcus Gunn fonds: Vol. 1, file 1, 14.

25 Miramichi newspaper account of the 11th of October fire as reported in John MacGregor, *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Maritime Colonies of British America* (London: 1828) 169–72.

26 CO 384/34 ff. 261, 271: Isabella MacKenzie to the Colonial Office, Feb. 12, 1834, March **5,** 1834.

27 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 75–7; *RG,* March 6, Oct. 19, 1821.

28 UNBA MG H 28: Fredericton Emigrant Society.

29 W.S. MacNutt, *New Brunswick: a History, 1784–1867* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1963) 303–4. Although the legislature had introduced a small head tax on immigrants by this time, the proceeds were not set aside for immigrants. It consistently refused to establish a system for the reception of immigrants.

30 For details of the company's prospectus see NAB CO 384/41 ff. 319–20. The land company published extensive publicity. See for example, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company, *Sketches in New Brunswick in the year 1833.. and., the operations of the association during the years 1834 and 1835* and *Practical information respecting New Brunswick for the use of persons intending to settle upon the lands of the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company* (London: Pelham Richardson, 1843).

31 Helen Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America; The First Hundred Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961) 140–2.

32 NAB CO 188/75 ff. 177-82: Edward Villiers to Colonial Land and Emigration Office, Nov. 10, 1841.

33 In an attempt to encourage emigration, the Saint John Mechanics' Institute announced a prize essay competition in 1859 for essays on New Brunswick's suitability "as a home for emigrants," with the three top essays being eventually published. One of these was written by James Brown (see J. Edgar et al, *New Brunswick as a Home for Emigrants: with the best means of promoting immigration and developing the resources of the province* (Saint John: Barnes & Co., 1860).

34 "The Society, in connection with the Established Church of Scotland, for Promoting the Religious Interests of Scottish Settlers in British North America" was founded in 1825. Having been established by Glaswegians it later came to be known by its condensed name—"the Glasgow Colonial Society."

35 See, for example, the letters written by the Rev. James Souter and the Rev. John Martin about the influences of other religions, in Elizabeth Ann Kerr McDougall and John S. Moir (eds.), *Selected Correspondence of the Glasgow Colonial Society 18251840* (Champlain Society, Toronto, 1994) 208–9.

36 LAC (M-1354) Rev. Peter Mclntyre to Rev. Burns, March 7, 1834.

CHAPTER 2: LOYALIST ARRIVALS

1 LAC (M-1352) James Thomson to Mr. Kerr, June 15, 1826.

2 G. Wynn, "A Region of Scattered Settlements and Bounded Possibilities: North Eastern America 1775-1800" in *The Canadian Geographer*, Vol. 31 (1987) 319–38.

3 Although several hundred Loyalists obtained land in Prince Edward Island, few remained

because of its chaotic system of land ownership, which led to considerable confusion over land titles and encouraged tenancies rather than freeholds. F.W.P. Boiger (ed.), *Canada's Smallest Province: A History of Prince Edward Island* (Halifax: Nimbus, 1991) 59–64.

4 Most of the Cape Breton Loyalists settled in Sydney and Baddeck. Stephen J. Hornsby, *Nineteenth Century Cape Breton; An Historical Geography* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992) 19-20, 23, 48, 120-21.

5 Buckner and Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation,* 184–209.

6 Esther Clark Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* (Fredericton, NB: 1955), 4–6, 151–5.

7 Cowan, *British Emigration,* 7–12.

8 Wright, *Loyalists of New Brunswick,* 155–6, 159.

9 However, a few military Loyalists were also assigned land in Westmorland County at the head of the Bay of Fundy and on the Passamaquoddy Bay near the Maine boundary. Chester Martin, "The Loyalists in New Brunswick" in *Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records,* Vol. 30 (1934) 160–70.

10 The blocks of land that were assigned to the Loyalist Regiments in the St. John Valley are shown in Robert Dallison, *Hope Restored: The American Revolution and founding of New Brunswick* (Fredericton, NB: Goose Lane Editions and the New Brunswick Military Heritage Project, 2003) 28.

11 Wynn, "A Region of Scattered Settlements: North Eastern America," 324–25.

12 Campbell, *Travels in the Interior,* 25. Saint John's success is in stark contrast to Shel-burne, Nova Scotia. Having acquired 10,000 Loyalists, Shelburne's population declined rapidly. By 1818 it had fewer than 500 inhabitants. Wynn, "A Region of Scattered Settlements: North Eastern America," 323.

13 Wright, *Loyalists of New Brunswick,* 198.

14 Rev. J.C. Herdman, "Sketches in Restigouche History" in *The Daily Sun* (Saint John) Feb. 5, 6, 7, 1883.

15 Davidson was actually John Godsman who changed his name to William Davidson when he emigrated. There is a great deal of confusion over his geographical origins. He is variously described as originating from Banffshire, Aberdeenshire and Inverness-shire. He was, in fact, born in the Parish of Bellie, which is in Morayshire. *DCB,* Vol. IV, 195–7.

16 W.H. Davidson, *An account of the Life of William Davidson: otherwise John Godsman of Banffshire and Aberdeenshire in Scotland and Miramichi in British North America* (Saint John: New Brunswick Museum, 1947) 9.

17 Ibid, 16.

18 Ibid.

19 Michael Collie, *New Brunswick* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974) 39. Davidson's shipyard was located on the north side of the Southwest Miramichi River, about a mile below Barnaby Island.

20 Only three of the settlers whom Davidson recruited before the war remained in the area. Davidson, *Life of William Davidson,* 37.

21 Davidson's sawmill was situated along the Mill Stream, a branch of the Northwest Miramichi River, about six miles above the present-day Newcastle.

22 LAC (M-1352) James Thomson to Mr. Kerr, June 15, 1826.

23 John Malcolm settled later in Nelson. He built a chapel known as "Malcolm's Chapel," which was a place of worship for Roman Catholic settlers until 1827. Pat Hubbard, *The Scots at the Point* (Miramichi: Kenco Printing, 2004) 25–6.

24 Ester Clark Wright, *The Miramichi, A Study of the New Brunswick River and of the people who settled along it* (Sackville, NB: Tribune Press, 1945) 23–4. The seven family heads were: William James, Peter, George and James Henderson, James Newlands, James Gillice and John Taylor.

25 The largest numbers of emigrants were reported to have originated from or near Aberlour and Mortlach in Banffshire, Dallas and Duffus in Morayshire and Ard-clach in Nairnshire. See Sir John Sinclair, *First Statistical Account of Scotland,* 21 vols. (Edinburgh, 1791–99) Vol. XVI, 5, 327, 471, 493, 714.

26 Davidson, *Life of William Davidson,* 37.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid, 38.

29 Ibid.

30 W.F. Ganong, "Historical-Geographical Documents relating to New Brunswick" in *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, Vol. 9 (1914) (Saint John: Barnes & Co., 1914) 314–

15.
31 NAB MPI 1/297: Sketch plan of the Miramichi, 1785.
32 Davidson's workers, who numbered about 50, were not included since they had not acquired any land. Davidson, *Life of William Davidson,* 37.
33 Ibid, 40-2.
34 Campbell, *Travels in the Interior,* 62. Campbell had sailed from Greenock to Saint John in 1791 on the *Argyle.* He paid £18 for a cabin fare while his servant's steerage fare was £6.
35 Craig Maskill, "Where One Scot Comes Others Soon Follow: the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment (Black Watch) and the Settlement of the Nashwaak River Valley, 1783–1823" (University of New Brunswick, unpublished M.A. thesis, 1999) 9–19, 31–9, 43–8.
36 The Nashwaak land grant, which lay between present-day Taymouth and Nashwaak Bridge, was divided into 185 lots. At the time 275 men, women and children were settled on the land.
37 Campbell, *Travels in the interior,* 55.
38 George Patterson, *Memoir of the Rev. James MacGregor* (Philadelphia: 1859) 346.
39 See the list of Loyalists in Wright, *Loyalists of New Brunswick,* 255–345.
40 Wright, *Loyalists of New Brunswick,* 120, 196–200. See also, Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 57–8; Dallison, *Hope Restored,* 104–5; Wright, *The Miramichi,* 26–7.
41 Wright, *Loyalists of New Brunswick,* 198.
42 Before 1784 this region was in Nova Scotia.
43 *DCB,* Vol.VI, 561–3. (Robert Pagan)
44 PANB James Vroom fonds (F743): "Glimpses of the Past" typescript (1945) by James Vroom (545–8). This series of articles was published in *The St. Croix Courier,* from January 1892 to July 1895. *The Courier* was a weekly journal based in St. Stephens, New Brunswick.
45 Ann Gorman Condon, *The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick:The Envy of the American States* (Fredericton, NB: New Ireland Press, 1984) 85-96. See also, Wright, *Loyalists of New Brunswick,* 200–1.
46 The grant extended from the mouth of the Bocabec River on the east to Oak Bay and Pagans Cove on the west. There were two other lots on Mohannes Stream to the west.
47 William Pagan to Dr. William Paine, May **2,** 1784 (Winslow Papers) quoted in Grace Helen Mowat, *The Diverting History of a Loyalist Town, A Portrait of St. Andrews, New Brunswick* (Fredericton, NB: Brunswick Press, 1953) 37–8.
48 Ibid.
49 LAC MG24 F89: Colin Campbell's letter-book, letter dated August 4, 1783.
50 Ibid.
51 Mowat, *Loyalist Town,* 37–8.
52 Thomas Pagan later moved to the Miramichi. *DCB,* Vol.V, 645–7. (William Pagan)
53 Campbell, *Travels in the Interior,* 300.
54 Wright, *Loyalists of New Brunswick,* 200–1.
55 Ibid, 255–345. Wright's comprehensive list of New Brunswick Loyalists reveals their military service during the Revolution and the location of their grants.
56 D.G. Bell, "Early Loyalist Saint John," in Gerald Tulchinsky (ed.), *Immigration in Canada, Historical Perspectives* (Toronto: Copp Clark Longman, 1994) 48–68.
57 Dallison, *Hope Restored,* 62–5.
58 Only a handful of men from the Royal Highland Emigrants Regiment (84th) appear in Wright's list of Loyalists *(Loyalists of New Brunswick,* 255–345). The regiment acquired its recruits mainly from Highland emigrants who had already settled in North America. Discharged veterans of the Seven Years War formed the nucleus of the new regiment and it included former members of the Royal Highland Regiment (42nd) as well as the Fraser's (78th) and Montgomerie Highlanders (77th).
59 Robert Fellows, "Loyalists and land settlement in New Brunswick" in *Canadian Archivist,* Vol. 2 (1971) 5–16.
60 Martin, "Loyalists in New Brunswick," 165–6.
61 Wynn, "A Region of Scattered Settlements: North Eastern America," 324–26.
62 Graeme Wynn, *Timber Colony: An Historical Geography of Early Nineteenth Century New Brunswick* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 11–25. NAS RH 2/4: Accounts of the Exports and Imports of the Provinces of North America, 1800–1827.

CHAPTER 3: EARLY FOREST CLEARINGS: THE CHARLOTTE COUNTY SCOTS

1 James MacGregor, "History concerning the Settlement of Scotch Ridge and Little Ridge in St. James Parish, Charlotte County, 1804–1830" in George Patterson, *Memoir of the Rev. James MacGregor,* (Philadelphia, 1859) Appendix F, 522.
2 Sutherland and Caithness emigrants had sailed on the *Hector* to Pictou, Nova Scotia in 1773–some 30 years earlier. The *Hector* was owned by John Pagan, a Glasgow merchant and brother of William and Thomas Pagan. William and Thomas played a major role in the relocation of the Penobscot Association Loyalists at St. Andrews.
3 The Irish Rebellion of 1798 was supported by French troops.
4 MacGregor, "History of Scotch Ridge," 521. MacGregor based this account on information given to him by settlers when he visited Scotch Ridge in 1810.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 There were only small numbers of Scottish and English immigrants. T.W. Acheson, "A Study in the Historical Demography of a Loyalist County" in *Social History* No. 1 (April 1968) 53–65.
8 For details of the Sutherland influx to Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, see Campey, *After the Hector,* 77–8, 111, 131–43.
9 PANB MC 1672: Surveyor General's Papers: Account of money paid by John Campbell to 25 families of Scottish emigrants who arrived at St. Andrews and settled in Charlotte County, Nov. 1804. This list was printed in *We Lived,* a Genealogical Newsletter, New Brunswick, issue #15.
10 MacGregor, "History of Scotch Ridge," 522.
11 PANB RS 637 7d, 9a: Records of the Surveyor General, Donald MacDonald to George Sproule, Sept. 27, 1805, Feb. 17, 1807.
12 MacGregor, "History of Scotch Ridge," 523. St. Stephen Parish was first established in 1786. According to Ganong, St. James Parish was formed in 1823. See also, Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 168, 170.
13 MacGregor, "History of Scotch Ridge," 521–2.
14 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 171.
15 Colin Campbell was co-owner of a wharf "for vessels on every side capable of containing 2000 tons of timber" (see advertisement for mercantile establishment of Campbell & Clarke in *NBC,* July 6, 1816).
16 MacGregor, "History of Scotch Ridge," 522.
17 Ibid, 523–4.
18 LAC (M-1354) Rev. Peter Mclntyre to Rev. Burns, March 7, 1834.
19 MacGregor, "History of Scotch Ridge," 524.
20 LAC (M-1354) Rev. Peter Mclntyre to Rev. Burns, March 7, 1834.
21 MacGregor, "History of Scotch Ridge," 525.
22 Rev. L.B. Gibson, *History of St. Stephens Presbyterian Church, St. Stephen, New Brunswick, 1834–1909* (St. Stephen, The Manse, 1909) 8-9.
23 The *Courant* was published in St. Andrews.
24 MacGregor, "History of Scotch Ridge," 525.
25 LAC (M-1354) Rev. Peter Mclntyre to Rev. Burns, March 7, 1834.
26 Ibid.
27 Letter from Peter Mclntyre in the *Eighth Annual Report of the Glasgow Colonial Society for promoting the religious interests of the Scottish settlers in British North America* (Glasgow: 1835) 40–42.
28 Laurie Stanley, *The Well-Watered Garden: The Presbyterian Church in Cape Breton 1798-1860* (Sydney, NB: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1983) 175.
29 LAC (M-1354) Rev. Peter Mclntyre to Rev. Burns, March 7, 1834.
30 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 150, 170.
31 LAC (M-1354) Rev. Alexander MacLean to Rev. Burns, January 28, 1835.
32 LAC (M-1355) Rev. Wilson to Rev. Burns, May 29, 1841.
33 Gibson, *History of St. Stephens Church,* 9–18.
34 Wynn, *Timber Colony,* 20, 95, 97.
35 NAS GD 136/518: John McKinzie to Alexander Mackenzie, Sept. 20, 1815.
36 NAB CO 384/8 ff. 169, 370.
37 Wynn, *Timber Colony,* 100–1, 106.
38 Ibid, 162–3.
39 Ibid, 162.
40 George H. Hayward, "The King's New Brunswick Regiment" in *Generations,* the Journal of the

New Brunswick Genealogical Society (Spring, 2006) 24–30.
41 For example the *Norval* of Greenock and *Carolina* of Greenock arrived at Greenock in 1791 with timber collected from St. Andrews (NAS E.504/15/59).
42 Wynn, *Timber Colony,* 44–5, 95–6.
43 John Higgins to John Ward, Nov. 5, 1822 quoted in Wynn, *Timber Colony,* 45
44 A deal was a thick plank usually more than seven inches wide and six feet long.
45 LAC (M-1354) Rev. MacLean to Rev. Burns, January 28, 1835.
46 LAC (M-1352) Rev. MacLean to Rev. Burns, September 26, 1825.
47 Ibid.
48 LAC (M-1354) Rev. MacLean to Rev. Burns, January 28, 1835.
49 Mowat, *Loyalist Town,* 69.
50 Melville N. Cockburn, *A History of Greenock Church, St. Andrews, New Brunswick from 1821–1906* (self-published, 1906) 5, 21.
51 LAC (M-1354) Rev. MacLean to Rev. Burns, January 28, 1835.
52 Ibid.
53 Rev. Christopher Atkinson, *An Historical and Statistical Account of New Brunswick, British North America* (Edinburgh: 1844) 45.
54 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 145.
55 LAC (M-1354) Rev. Peter Mclntyre to Rev. Burns, March 7, 1834.
56 LAC (M-1354) Rev. MacLean to Rev. Burns, January 28, 1835.
57 Ibid.
58 Atkinson, *Historical and Statistical Account of New Brunswick,* 52.
59 Ibid, xii–xv.
60 Ibid, 234, 237, 239.
61 The names of the men who were granted lots appear in Table 3.
62 Douglas Williamson to a brother in Edinburgh, June, 1791, quoted in Anon, "A letter about an early Digdeguash River settler and visitor" in *Generations,* (Fall, 1999) 49.
63 Ibid.
64 LAC (M-1352) Peter McCallum to Rev. Alexander McLean, July 29, 1825.
65 The aid was requested on their behalf by "the Scotch Church in St. Andrews." PANB RS 24 1838/pe File 5 petition #131. The following St. Patrick inhabitants signed the petition: George Mackay, John Stewart, Alexander McDonald, Gordon McKay, Alexander McKay, Gordon McKay Jr., Peter McCallin, David & Robert Cockburn, Daniel Morrison, John McFarlane, William Cameron, John Mitchel, John Roulston, Angus McKaskle, Josias Mckinney, James Reed, Joel Thompson, Thomas Boles, Wm. McCrum, Theodore Thomson, Robert Parks Jr., James & Robert McKinney, Alexander Cockburn, Peter Morison, Wm. Park, Robert Linton, John & Robert Lock, John McKaskle, Robert & James Johnston, William Boyd, John Murphy.
66 LAC (M-1354) Rev. Alexander MacLean to Rev. Burns, January 28, 1835.
67 LAC (M-1355) Rev. McLean to Rev. Burns, January 27, 1842.
68 Ibid.
69 Ibid.
70 Ibid.
71 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 177.
72 LAC (M-1354) Rev. MacLean to Rev. Burns, January 28, 1835.
73 Ibid.
74 Ibid.
75 Wynn, *Timber Colony,* 32–3.
76 NAB CO 188/75 ff. 229–31.
77 Acheson, "Demography of a Loyalist County," 59-61. Although Charlotte County as a whole never recovered from the depression of the 1840s, parishes along the American border experienced significant growth under the stimulus of reciprocity (free trade) and a rapidly expanding timber trade.
78 *RG,* Nov. 13, 1821.
79 The Township of Dumbarton was carved out of the northern part of St. Patrick Parish in 1857.
80 1861 Census. Scottish Presbyterian religious affiliations have been used to identify people of Scottish ancestry. In 1861, 37% of Dumbarton's population were Scottish Presbyterians.
81 Acheson, "Demography of a Loyalist County," 60.

CHAPTER 4: ATTRACTIONS OF THE MIRAMICHI: THE NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY

1 LAC (M-1352) Rev. James Thomson to Mr. Kerr, June 15, 1826.
2 Mr. McQueen was a follower of the Haldene preachers, Robert and James Haldene, both brothers, who led an evangelical mission in Scotland during the late 18th century.
3 Ibid.
4 Hubbard, *Scots at the Point,* 15–8.
5 LAC (M-1352) Rev. James Thomson to Mr. Kerr, June 15, 1826.
6 Ibid.
7 Rev. Wallace E. Whyte, *A Brief History of the Presbyterian Church in Chatham, 1816–1966* (Chatham: Miramichi Press, 1966) 5–6.
8 LAC (M-1352) Rev. James Thomson to Mr. Kerr, June 15, 1826.
9 Southesk became a separate parish in 1879.
10 Newcastle Parish was initially much larger and only acquired its present size from 1814.
11 Wright, *The Miramichi,* 20–9. Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 123, 154, 156.
12 Nelson, which only became a separate parish from 1814, was initially very small. Before 1814 it was part of Glenelg Parish. It was enlarged to its present limits in 1854 and it included Derby until 1859.
13 Blackville and Blissfield only became separate parishes from 1830. Before then they were part of Ludlow.
14 Ganong, Ibid, 117, 146, 153.
15 Alnwick Parish initially included part of Newcastle and Northesk and only acquired its present size from 1814.
16 Glenelg Parish was initially much larger and until 1851 it included most of Nelson and Hardwicke parishes.
17 Ibid, 114, 115, 117, 120, 152, 175.
18 Migration records of the Roman Catholic Highlanders who moved from Prince Edward Island to Cape Breton are available from 1796. See NSARM MG1 Vol. 1848, Folder 3. For further details of the influx of Prince Edward Island Scots to Cape Breton, see Campey, *After the Hector*, 71–4.
19 Bouchette, *British Dominions in North America,* Vol. 1, 135.
20 Many of the Dumfries ships also called at Pictou, Charlottetown and Richibucto.
21 *AJ,* March 6, 1816.
22 The arrival dates of immigrants in Northumberland County are recorded in the *1851 Census.*
23 NAS E.504/1/27.
24 NAS E.504/26/8.
25 Private communication, Annie Manson, archive assistant, Orkney Library and Archives.
26 Hubbard, *Scots at the Point,* 29. John Wilson apparently had "a fair education" and worked as a navigator on whaling ships before he emigrated. During the 1840s he worked as a ferryman, operating from Wilson's Point.
27 Campey, *After the Hector,* 131–7.
28 Tabusintac (Taboujamtèque) is an Indian word meaning the place of two families or persons (See Abraham Gesner, *New Brunswick with Notes for Emigrants, comprehending the early history, settlement, topography, statistics, natural history, etc.,* (London: 1847) 194). It was a former Mi'kmaw reserve, having been established in 1802. Tabusintac also had Acadian settlements of later origin, which were probably formed before 1812 (Ganong, "Settlements of New Brunswick," 175).
29 Cooney, Robert, *A Compendious History of the northern part of the Province of New Brunswick and of the district of Gaspe in Lower Canada* (Chatham: 1896), (first published Halifax, NS: Joseph Howe, 1832) 123.
30 LAC (M-1353) Rev. James Souter to Rev. Burns, April 6, 1832.
31 *Seventh Annual Report of the Glasgow Colonial Society* (1833) 12.
32 LAC (M-1353) Rev. James Souter to Rev. Burns, April 6, 1832.
33 Ibid, Roderick McLeod is described in the *1851 Census* as a merchant/farmer, who arrived from Scotland in 1803.
34 Formerly, Bay du Vin had been a considerable Acadian settlement. Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 113.
35 Ibid, 117. Some officers from the disbanded Fraser's Highlanders also obtained lots on the east side of Prince Edward Island, following the lottery of 1767.
36 Maskill, *When One Scot Comes Other Soon Follow,* 45–6. However by 1851, later generations of

Sutherlands were to be found mainly in Blissfield and Northesk parishes (see *1851 Census).*

37 LAC (M-1352) Rev. James Thomson to John Kerr, Jan. 1830. Gunn acquired the land on which the church was built in 1812.

38 Alexander Gunn's name appears in Table 2.

39 LAC (M-1352) Rev. James Thomson to Mr. Kerr, June 15, 1826.

40 LAC (M-1353) Rev. James Souter to Rev. Burns, April 6, 1832

41 Ibid.

42 Burnt Church on the north side of Miramichi Bay had been an important Mi'kmaw village (Eskinwobudich). The burning of what was a "handsome church of stone," by the British during the Acadian expulsions of 1758 probably gave the site its name (see Wright, *The Miramichi,* 16-7). The modern village of Burnt Village was founded c. 1800 by Scottish settlers who moved to it from other areas of the Miramichi (see Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 120).

43 LAC (M-1353) Rev. James Hannay to Rev. Burns, November 15, 1833.

44 William Gregg, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of* Canada (Toronto: Presbyterian & Publishing Co., 1885), 296.

45 LAC (M-1354) Rev. MacLean to Rev. Burns, Jan. 28, 1835.

46 LAC (M-1355) Rev. James Souter to Rev. Burns, December 26, 1839.

47 Ernie McLean, "St. Stephens Church, Black River, N.B.," in *Generations,* (Spring, 2001) 51. The men appointed in 1834 to manage the church building were:Angus Sinclair, Alexander MacBeath, Alexander MacDonald, Hugh Cameron, Alexander Cameron, Peter MacDougall, Enoch Godfrey.

48 Gesner, *New Brunswick,* 188–91.

49 Before 1814 Alnwick included part of Newcastle and Northesk parishes as well as part of Gloucester County.

50 Father Joseph Octave Plessis, *Journal de deux voyages apostoliques dans le Golfe Saint-Laurent et les provinces d'en Bas en 1811 et 1812* (Le Foyer Canadien, 1865) 170.

51 Ibid, 174.

52 Dallison, *Hope Restored,* 104–5. Alexander MacDonald, who originated from Argyll, enlisted at age 15 or 16 and was one of 1,076 soldiers in the 76th regiment. When the regiment was disbanded, 137 men requested to take their discharge in Nova Scotia (which then included New Brunswick). Alexander MacDonald died in 1834, aged 72.

53 Alexander MacDonald's house, now part of an historic park, is open to the public.

54 Ganong, "Settlements in new Brunswick," 58, 114. John MacDonald of Glenaladale had led 214 Catholic Highlanders and Islanders to Scotchfort in 1772 (see Campey, *Very Fine Class of Immigrants,* 16–31).

55 Ganong, "Settlements of New Brunswick," 117.

56 E.C.Wright, "Pioneer Families of New Brunswick," in *Generation* (New Brunswick Genealogical Society, Summer 1999) 25.

57 Ganong, "Settlements of New Brunswick," 117, 152.

58 Thomas Baillie, *An Account of the Province of New Brunswick including a description of the settlements, visitations, soil & climate of that important province with advice to emigrants* (London: J.G. & F. Rivington, 1832).

59 Cooney, *History of Northern New Brunswick,* 117.

60 Barbara (McKnight) Mills, "Samuel McKnight, 1777-1845," in *Generations,* (Spring 2005) 46–7.

61 Annan was a handloom-weaving centre. The head of the Annan River is just north of Moffat.

62 J.F.W. Johnston, *Notes on North America: agricultural, economical and social 2 vols.* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1851). Vol. I, 110. Although timber shipments would have arrived at the port of Annan, it is likely that emigrants left from the much bigger port of Dumfries.

63 Campbell, *Travels in the Interior,* 62.

64 Ibid.

65 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 127.

66 David S. MacMillan, "Scottish Enterprise and Influences in Canada 1620-1900" in R.A. Cage, *The Scots Abroad* (London: Croom Helm, 1985) 46–79.

67 DCB, Vol.V, 327–28.

68 *DCB,* Vol.VI, 60–1.

69 *DCB,* Vol.V, 645–7.

70 James Thom was a wealthy Scottish merchant from Halifax.

71 Wright, *The Miramichi,* 30. Louise Manny, *Ships of Miramichi: A History of Shipbuilding on the Miramichi River, New Brunswick, 1773–1919* (Saint John: The New Brunswick Museum, Historical Series No. 10, 1960) 12. At the time, Fraser and Thom were doing business as a branch of James Hunter and George Robertson of Greenock and William Forsyth of Halifax.

72 James Fraser was elected to the House of Assembly in 1795 as a representative for Northumberland County. He moved to Halifax in around 1810 and was appointed to the Nova Scotia Council in 1818. He had been a close friend of William Davidson.

73 The property included "a barn 53' by 35', a cooper's shop, green house... a very neat garden set with fruit trees, gooseberries and currants and two wells." *RG,* July 22, 1817.

74 *DCB,* Vol. VI, 262–63. Manny, *Ships of the Miramichi,* 13. The company traded under the name of John and James Fraser and Company

75 NAS GD 1/620/84: Peter Clyde to Samuel Rogerson. June 28, 1830. Peter Clyde lived in Blackville.

76 WD. Hamilton, *Dictionary of Miramichi Biography* (Saint John, New Brunswick: self-published, 1997) 214.

77 LAC MG24, D82 ff. 15–8: William Loch Papers. In his letter, Loch states "that I have always been taught by my mother, Isabella Stewart," to look upon the recipient "as my father," suggesting that he was an illegitimate child.

78 Ibid.

79 Apparently Bradbury had stolen trade secrets and was a violent man.

80 To protect William Duncan's interests, Loch thought that it might be necessary to have him made a ward of the Chancery Court and to have Alexander Rankin act as a guardian. William Loch Papers, ff. 150, 211.

81 Ibid. The assets included £3628 for goods in store, £433 cash in hand, £2561, "being the value of timber," and £1088, "being the value of property." Among the minor assets were a mahogany table worth £3 and a backgammon board worth

82 Ibid, ff. 213–4. William Loch's letter of January 30, 1836, to Ronald Davidson at Miramichi describes the negotiation.

83 Ibid, ff. 381–2.

84 Porter is a bitter beer brewed from charred or brown malt.

85 William Loch Papers, ff. 207–12. The debtors also included two Indians, one teacher, three people from Prince Edward Island and a "ships carpenter."

86 *1851 Census.*

87 Donald MacKay, *The Lumberjacks* (Toronto: Natural Heritage, 1998) 19.

88 For instance, the *1851 Census* reveals that James Matthews was a farmer/lumberer of the Renous River settlement, Northesk. He may well be the same James Matthews who appears on Loch's listing (Table 6). Similarly, the James Holmes who appears on the list may be the same James Holmes who was a Northesk farmer/lumberer in 1851. Other Scottish-born farmer/lumberers who were operating in Northesk in 1851 include Alexander Sutherland, John McTavish and Justus Adams.

89 Wynn, *Timber Colony,* 84–86, 110–111, 113–137.

90 W.S. MacNutt, "The politics of the timber trade in colonial New Brunswick 1825-40" in *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 30 (1949) 47–65.

91 *DCB,* Vol. VII, 343–4. Allan Gilmour and his business partner Arthur Pollok, both from Glasgow, established themselves as timber merchants in the early 1800s. Gilmour was one of the first merchants to appreciate the potential of the North American timber trade. He sent out his younger brother, James Gilmour, and Alexander Rankin, a nephew of the Polloks to open the Miramichi branch of the company in 1812.

92 Douglastown was known previously as Gretna Green. The name was changed to commemorate the visit of Governor Sir Howard Douglas shortly before the fire in 1825.

93 *DCB,* Vol. VIII, 736–42.

94 Ibid. Alexander Rankin and Joseph Cunard, who founded his timber business at Chatham in 1820, were bitter rivals, competing with each other for overall dominance of the Miramichi timber trade and shipbuilding.

95 Scott W. See, "Polling Crowds and Patronage: New Brunswick's "Fighting Elections" of 1842–43," in *Canadian Historical Review,* Vol. LXXII (1991) 131–33. Rankin first entered politics in 1827 when he was elected to the House of Assembly as one of two members for Northumberland County. He became embroiled in the so-called "fighting elections" of 1842–43, in which his supporters defeated Cunard's candidate.

96 Cooney, *History of Northern New Brunswick,* 108. Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 128.
97 LAC MG24 142 Vols. 1, 9: Marcus Gunn fonds. Gunn had served at Saint John in Lord Seaforth's Highlanders (78th) and returned to Thurso after completing his service in 1825. Two years later he moved to New Brunswick and by 1832 was living in Douglastown. He and his family later moved to Pictou.
98 Wright, *The Miramichi,* 41–3.
99 NAB CO 384/6 f. 471. The government always refused such requests.
100 *1851 Census.*
101 Hamilton, *Dictionary of Miramichi Biography,* 245.
102 LAC (M-1352) James Wright to Rev. Burns, Newcastle, January 16, 1830.
103 LAC (M-1354) Rev. MacLean to Rev. Burns, Jan. 28, 1835.
104 The other trustees were Alexander Davidson, John Fraser, James Gilmour and John Nesmith.
105 The letter was signed by: James D. Fraser, Thomas McCullam, Homer C. Allan, Gilbert Henderson and William Fiddes.
106 Gregg, *History of the Presbyterian Church,* 288.
107 Cooney, *History of Northern New Brunswick,* 108.
108 LAC (M-1354) Rev. MacLean to Rev. Burns, Jan. 28, 1835.
109 Gesner, *New Brunswick,* 188–91.
110 Munro, *New Brunswick,* 204.
111 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 123.
112 This is the same Archibald McQueen who, after serving the Miramichi Presbyterian congregation in 1815 as their minister, was removed because of his evangelical tendencies. He went on to become the first principal of the Northumberland County Grammar School. NLS MS.791: Archibald Constable letterbook (1814–26) f, 113. For details of weavers and their libraries, see Lucille H. Campey, *The Scottish Pioneers of Upper Canada, 1784–1855: Glengarry and Beyond* (Toronto: Natural Heritage, 2005) 86–8, 173–5.
113 These divisions date back to 1733 when secessionists, who were opposed to political patronage, broke away from the Established Church of Scotland.
114 Rev. Thomson was commended for his relief work during the fire of 1825.
115 McDougall and Moir, *Correspondence of the Glasgow Colonial Society,* 214.
116 Wallace, *Presbyterian Church in Chatham, 7.*
117 LAC (M-1354) Rev. James Souter to Rev. Burns, Feb. 26, 1834.
118 LAC (M-1354) Rev. MacLean to Rev. Burns, Jan. 28, 1835. Rev. William Johnston had served for two to three years following Rev. Thomson's death, but he had not been appointed through the Glasgow Colonial Society.
119 LAC (M-1354) Robert Archibald to Rev. Burns, March 7, 1837.
120 LAC (M-1353) Rev. James Souter to Rev. Burns, April 6, 1832.
121 PANB RG10 RS663A: timber and sawmill petitions, 1817-65 quoted in Maskill, *When One Scot Comes Others Soon Follow,* 32.
122 Ganong, 127.
123 Hamilton, *Dictionary of Miramichi Biography,* 105. The Doaktown homestead, now the centrepiece of an historic park, is open to the public.
124 Derby Parish, which was created in 1859, was previously part of Nelson Parish.
125 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 117.
126 Anon., *History of St. Andrews Church Blackville, New Brunswick, 1840–1990* (Blackville, 1990) 1–5.
127 Ibid, 3.
128 Before then the Northesk people were included in the Newcastle congregation.
129 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 156; Doreen Menzies Arbuckle, *The North West Miramichi: A History of the Locality & History of the Menzies, Sinclair, Curtis & Mullin Families* (Ottawa: Westboro Printers, 1978) 38–9. Stuart, Martin and Gillis were William Davidson's tenants. Their names appear in Table 1.
130 Arbuckle, *The North West Miramichi,* 39.
131 Maskill, Ibid, 46–7.
132 Arbuckle, *The Northwest Miramichi,* 191-2.
133 NAS GD 45/3/159/2: Sir Howard Douglas, Lieut. Governor of New Brunswick to Lord Dalhousie, Oct. 19, 1825.
134 Ibid.

135 Peter Fisher, *History of New Brunswick* (New Brunswick Historical Society, 1921) 39, originally published 1825.
136 Bouchette, *British Dominions in North America*, Vol. 1, 132.
137 Wynn, *Timber Colony,* 33–43.
138 For example, see the *1851 Census Returns* for Alnwick, Newcastle, Glenelg, Chatham, Northesk and Nelson parishes in Northumberland County.
139 *1861 Census* for Northumberland County. Overall, 34% of Northumberland County's inhabitants were Scottish Presbyterians.

CHAPTER 5: SEARCHING FOR RIVER FRONTAGES: SCOTTISH CONCENTRATIONS IN THE SOUTHEAST

1 NAB CO 384/8 f. 293: Letter to Lord Bathurst, April 13, 1822.
2 I. Allen Jack, *History of the Saint Andrews Society of Saint John, New Brunswick, Canada 1798-1903* (Saint John, NB:J. & A. McMillan, 1903) 20–21. See also, MacNutt, *New Brunswick,* 165–6, *RG,* Nov. 15, 1803.
3 *CG,* Oct. 3, 1814. The building committee consisted of: William Pagan, Hugh Johnson, Sen., John Thomson, James Gregor, John Currie, William Donaldson, Alexander Edmunds, Laughlan Donaldson, Sec. See, J.W. Lawrence, *Footprints: Or Incidents in the Early History of New Brunswick* (1883) 25–6.
4 *RG,* May 11, 1803; Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 58. The adult fares were 5 guineas (£5.5s.) each. The total cost of the fares was just over £148. The emigrants also requested additional funds of nearly £16.
5 PANB MC 80/1: Grace Aiton, *The Story of Sussex and Vicinity* (Kings County Historical Society, 1967) 55–8.
6 PANB MC 1672: John Black & Co., list of passengers not paying debts, 1803. The following people paid part of their fares: Archibald Miller, William Neilson, James Edward, George Ross, Matthew Roule, George Rossborough, William Harmaen, John McCrea.
7 Elizabeth C. Morse, "John Blair, Settler 1803, Canada" in *Generations,* (Fall, 1999) 46–7.
8 PANB MC 300 MS 17/40 (m/f F9798): passenger list for the *Favourite; RG* Dec. 3, 1815.
9 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 73.
10 PANB MC 300 MS 17/40 (m/f F9798). Peter Deware, Betsey Girdie and Andrew Stevenson paid their own fares. The fare was £7. 10s.
11 For details of the government-sponsored Upper Canada settlements, see Campey, *Scottish Pioneers of Upper Canada,* 35–68, 80–90.
12 PANB RS555/C4 (m/f F16227): Petition of James Taylor.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid. The ten additional passengers were: Alexander Campbell, Daniel McGurdy, James Watson, David Williams, Charles Fendley, George Crawford, Thomas Davidson, John Gallaghan, Robert Burr, Robert Jemmison.
15 PANB MC1672: Settlers brought in through the port of Saint John, 1816.
16 MacNutt, *New Brunswick,* 166. William Pagan and Hugh Johnston presented the Loch Lomond settlers' request in the legislature.
17 LAC (M-1354) Rev. Alexander MacLean to Rev. Burns, Jan. 28, 1835.
18 Ibid.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
21 Ann Waddell, "The Reed Point Beginning," in *Generations,* (Summer, 1999) 6–8.
22 Johnston, *Notes on North America.* Vol. I, 117.
23 LAC (M-1352) Daniel Forbes to Rev. Burns, Oct. 1, 1826.
24 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 129.
25 LAC (M-1352) Rev. Daniel Welsh to Rev. Burns, Dec. 10, 1829.
26 Gregg, *History of Presbyterian Church,* 286.
27 LAC (M-1354) Rev. Alexander MacLean to Rev. Burns, Jan. 28, 1835.
28 Ibid. The Springfield Church was completed by 1840. See James Holbrook, *A Census of the Population of the Province of New Brunswick in the year 1840, compiled and arranged from the official returns made by the respective clerks of the peace of several counties,* (Fredericton, NB: J. Sompson, 1840).
29 Barb Pearson, "Millstream Pastoral Charge (United Church) Records, Historical Background," in

Generations, (Spring, 2006) 19.
30 LAC (M-1352) Rev. Daniel Welsh to Rev. Burns, Dec. 10, 1829.
31 LAC (M-1354) Rev. Alexander MacLean to Rev. Burns, Jan. 28, 1835.
32 Ibid.
33 LAC (M-1352) Rev. Daniel Welsh to Rev. Burns, Dec. 10, 1829.
34 LAC (M-1354) Rev. Alexander MacLean, to Rev. Burns, Jan. 28, 1835.
35 Gregg, *History of the Presbyterian Church,* 287.
36 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 171. The location of New Brunswick's early public roads is shown in a sketch map by Ganong (see 67).
37 Gregg, *History of Presbyterian Church,* 287.
38 LAC (M-1354) Rev. Alexander MacLean to Rev. Burns, Jan. 28, 1835.
39 Ibid.
40 Gregg, *History of Presbyterian Church,* 287.
41 LAC (M-1352) Rev. Daniel Welsh to Rev. Burns, Dec. 10, 1829.
42 LAC (M-1354) Rev. Alexander MacLean to Rev. Burns, Jan. 28, 1835; Holbrook, *Census of New Brunswick, 1840.*
43 Frank Elliot Archibald, "Contribution of the Scottish Church to New Brunswick Presbyterianism from its earliest beginnings until the time of the disruption and afterwards, 1784-1852" (Edinburgh: unpublished Ph D. thesis, 1975) 108.
44 Ibid, 109.
45 Ibid, 95–6.
46 LAC (M-1352) Daniel Forbes to Rev. Burns, Oct. 1, 1826.
47 LAC (M-1354) Rev. Alexander MacLean to Rev. Burns, Jan. 28, 1835.
48 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 133, 171.
49 The 100th Regiment was the Prince of Wales Royal Canadian Regiment of Foot, which was raised in Northern Ireland in 1804. It was disbanded in Chatham, New Brunswick in 1818.
50 The letter was written to an Edinburgh relative. *DWJ,* July 15, 1817.
51 For example, in 1810 most timber imports to Dumfries came from the Miramichi and Richibucto (see NAS E.504/9/8).
52 See Chapter 4 for the Dumfriesshire emigrants who settled in the Miramichi and Chapter 7 for the Dumfriesshire emigrants who settled in Scotch Lake (York County).
53 The 1861 Census for Weldford Parish, which records Scottish county origins, reveals that most Scots originated from Dumfriesshire and other parts of the southwest Borders.
54 Wynn, *Timber Colony,* 36–8.
55 The principal concentrations of Dumfriesshire settlers on Prince Edward Island were in the Bedeque area at lots 17, 19, 25, 26, 28 and 29. See Campey, *Very Fine Class of Immigrants,* 66–79.
56 Galloway comprises Wigtownshire and Kirkcudbrightshire.
57 LAC (M-1354) Rev. Alexander MacLean to Rev. Burns, Jan. 28, 1835. The 1861 Census for Weldford Parish reveals that 36% of Scottish households had at least one family member, with Scottish ancestry, who had been born in Prince Edward Island.
58 *DGC,* June 1, 1819; RG, May 26, June 2, 1819; *SM,* (1819) 465.
59 DGC, April 13, 1819.
60 They had sailed on the *Swallow* in August, 1822. *DGC,* Aug. 6, 1822.
61 Glasgow Colonial Society, *First Annual Report of the Glasgow Colonial Society for promoting the religious interests of Scottish settlers in British North America* (Glasgow, 1826).
62 LAC (M-1354) Rev. Alexander MacLean to Rev. Burns, Jan. 28, 1835.
63 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 133.
64 W.C. Milner "Early History of Kent County," in *Generations,* Summer (2006) 2-3. This is a reprint of articles published in the *Moncton Trancript* in 1924 (see PANB MC3 #340).
65 Cooney, *History of Northern New Brunswick,* 152.
66 LAC (M-1354) Rev. Alexander MacLean to Rev. Burns, Jan. 28, 1835.
67 Richibucto town was known as Liverpool from 1826 to 1832. Ganong, 145.
68 LAC (M-1353) Rev. Alexander MacLean to Rev. Burns, September 25, 1833.
69 LAC (M-1354) Rev. James Souter, Newcastle, to Rev. Burns, Feb 3, 1834.
70 The Rev. Hannay was the father of James Hannay, the New Brunswick historian. McDougall and Moir, *Correspondence of the Glasgow Colonial Society,* 221.
71 Cooney, History of Northern New Brunswick, 150-1.
72 The Indian Reserve had been established in 1805 on both sides of the Richibucto River, but was

reduced in 1824 to the north side. Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 163–4. John Clarence Webster, *An Historical Guide to New Brunswick* (New Brunswick Government Bureau of Information and Tourist Travel, 1942) 63–6.

73 Milner "Early History of Kent County," 2.
74 LAC (M-1354) Rev. Alexander MacLean to Rev. Burns, Jan. 28, 1835.
75 LAC (M-1354) Rev. James Hannay to Rev. Burns, Dec. 30, 1834.
76 There were a total of twelve passengers. NAS E.504/9/9. DGC July 15, 1816.
77 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 163. Rexton was the birthplace of Andrew Bonar Law, British prime minister in 1922–23. The son of the Rev. James Law, minister of St. Andrews Church in Rexton, he is the only British prime minister to have been born outside of the United Kingdom.
78 John Jardine's petition of 1840 quoted in Wynn, *Timber Colony,* 124.
79 A much later group of Scots founded New Scotland (Moncton Parish) in 1866. See Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 155.
80 NAB CO 384/3 f. 205.
81 Ibid.
82 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 146, 171. The Scotch Settlement was near to New Scotland (Moncton Parish), which was formed in about 1866. See Ganong, 155.
83 New Brunswick Census, 1861. Moncton was incorporated as a town in 1875.
84 The New Lichts were members of secession Presbyterian congregations.
85 LAC (M-1352) Petition, February 15, 1826.
86 Holbrook, *Census of New Brunswick, 1840; New* Brunswick Census, 1861.
87 For a sketch map of the Mechanics' Settlement site, see NAB CO 700 NB no. 20.
88 The Mechanics' Institute was in existence from 1839 to 1890. Jack, *History of the Saint Andrews Society of Saint John,* 58.
89 PP 1847-48 XLVII (50) 439. M.H. Perley, Emigration Officer, Saint John, to the Hon. John S. Saunders, provincial secretary, May 17, 1848.
90 Ibid.
91 Ibid.
92 For example, see PP 1849 (1082)xxii, 1850 (1204) xxiii, 1854 (1833) xxviii.
93 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 87.
94 Ibid, 75–6.
95 New Brunswick Census, 1861. Scottish Presbyterian religious affiliations have been used to identify people with Scottish ancestry.

CHAPTER 6: THE TIMBER TRADE MOVES NORTH: THE RESTIGOUCHE COUNTY SCOTS

1 Johnston, *Notes on North America,* 394.
2 Ibid.
3 Munro, *New Brunswick,* 186.
4 Ibid, 187.
5 Wynn, *Timber Colony,* 36–39;
6 Rev.J.C. Herdman, "Sketches in Restigouche History," in *The Daily Sun,* Feb. 5, 6, 7, 1883.
7 Ibid, Feb. 7, 1883.
8 Munro, *New Brunswick,* 187.
9 Herdman, Feb. 5, 1883.
10 The Aberdeen fishermen included John and Robert Adam and John Duncan.
11 Herdman, Feb. 5, 1883.
12 Ibid.
13 The inhabitants of this deserted Mi'kmaw village were removed in 1759 to the north side of Chaleur Bay in Lower Canada. See entry for Restigouche in Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 162.
14 Herdman, Feb. 5, 1883.
15 Ibid, Feb. 6, 1883.
16 *DCB,* Robert Ferguson, Vol. VIII, 292–3.
17 NAS GD 45/3/139: letter from James Crawford in New Richmond, Feb. 28, 1825.
18 Herdman, Feb. 7, 1883.
19 LAC (M-1352) John Deans to Archibald McColl, March 26, 1830.

20 *DCB,* Hugh Munro, Vol. VII, 636–7.
21 St. Peters became Bathurst in 1826. St. Peters began as an Acadian refugee settlement following the expulsion of 1755. By 1761 there were said to be several hundred Acadians living around the west side of the harbour. Bathurst grew rapidly with the stimulus of the Nepisiguit timber trade, which reached its peak in the 1850s, see Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 115.
22 *DCB,* Robert Ferguson, Vol.VIII, 292–3.
23 At the time there was a Mi'kmaw village and an Acadian settlement at Eel River, just to the south of Dalhousie, see Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 126.
24 Gregg, *History of Presbyterian Church,* 291.
25 Rev. Steven's report, appended to the Ninth Annual Report of the Glasgow Colonial Society, is reproduced in Rev. R.F. Binnington, "The Glasgow Colonial Society and its work in the development of the Presbyterian Church in British North America 1825–1840," Toronto: unpublished Th. D. 1960, 83–6.
26 Herdman, Feb. 7, 1883.
27 Wynn, *Timber Colony,* 126–7.
28 Most of the company's top men originated from Mearns Parish.
29 The Saint John branch, opened in 1822, was Robert Rankin and Company, the Quebec branch, opened in 1828, was Allan Gilmour and Company while the Montreal branch, opened in 1829, was William Ritchie and Company, see SRA T/HH 77: Notice of retirement of Allan Gilmour in August, 1838.
30 Francis Ferguson and Alexander Rankin were the partners of the Bathurst branch. Arthur Ritchie was the brother of William, who managed the Montreal branch.
31 The live-in workforce consisted of 21 Scots, 19 Acadians, 12 Irish and four First Nations. Half of the Scots had been born in the province while the other half were immigrants who mainly arrived in the 1840s (see the 1851 Restigouche Census entry for Arthur Ritchie).
32 Wynn, *Timber Colony,* 128–9.
33 Kelp, made from burnt seaweed, was exported and used in various chemical processes. The kelp industry declined in the 1820s due to cheap foreign imports of similar products.
34 George H. Cook, *Memorial to the Arran Clearances* (Saint John, NB: self-published, 1977) 6, 69–73.
35 For a description of the Arran influx to the Eastern Townships, see Lucille Campey, *Les Écossais: The Pioneer Scots of Lower Canada, 1763–1855* (Toronto: Natural Heritage, 2006) 78–88.
36 Robert McLellan, *The Isle of Arran.* Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1970) 163–7. The Arran settlers came mainly from the Sliddery Glen or from areas along Kilmory Water.
37 The vessel was probably the *Corsair* of Greenock. It is likely that the entire 1829 Arran group sailed on it, although no documentary record has been found for this crossing.
38 Hamilton's house, which he named "Inch Arran," was later converted into a Victorian hotel. It burned down in 1921. The hotel was visited regularly by Sir John A. and Lady Macdonald. (see Norma Joan Paul, "Sir John A. Slept Here," in *The Atlantic Advocate,* May 1988, reprinted in *Generations,* (Spring, 1997) 2, 3). The Presbyterian church was built on the site now occupied by the Riverview Cemetery. After being destroyed in a fire, a second church was built on the corner of Adelaide and Brunswick streets. It too burned down. The present church on this site, St. John's United Church, was built in 1906. (see Anon., "Captain Hamilton Remembered" in *Generations,* (Summer, 1994) 25–6).
39 NAB CO 384/22 ff. 2–5.
40 Mary Young, "The Arran Clearances, Dalhousie, N.B." in *Generations,* (Summer, 1998) 27; Donald W. MacLean, "John Hamilton and his wife Catherine Kennedy, Restigouche N.B. pioneers," in *Generations,* (Winter, 2003) 29–33.
41 LAC (M-1355) Letter to Rev. Angus McMillan, Nov. 10, 1839.
42 The 1851 Census, which gives the arrival years of immigrants, shows a marked influx of Scots in these years.
43 LAC (M-1354) Rev. James Souter to Rev. Burns, June 19, 1834.
44 LAC (M-1355) Resident of Broderick, Arran to Mrs. Isabella Mackay, Nov. 16, 1836.
45 Herdman, Feb. 6, 1883.
46 1851 Census. Four heads of families in Durham were employed as weavers: John Curde, from Arran who arrived about 1834; Ronald McAlister, arrived 1833; Charles McAlister, arrived 1829 and John Cook, arrived 1833. See Ferne McCombe, "The John Currie Family, mid 1800s, River Louison, N.B.," in *Generations,* (Fall, 2005) 26–7.

47 LAC (M-1352) John Deans to Archibald McColl, March 26, 1830.
48 *The Edinburgh Christian Instructor and Colonial Religious Register* Jan., 1839) quoted in Laurie Stanley, *The Well-Watered Garden: The Presbyterian Church in Cape Breton 1798-1860* (Sydney, NB: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1983) 175.
49 LAC (M-1354) Rev. James Souter to Rev. Burns, June 19, 1834.
50 LAC (M-1355) Rev. William Fleming to Rev. Angus McMillan, Nov. 10, 1839.
51 Select Committee on Emigration, 1826–1827, Appendix to the Third Report: Abstracts of Scotch Petitions and Memorials. In all, six emigration societies formed in Kilmarnock in 1827, representing 212 families.
52 NAB CO 384/15 f. 623.
53 NAB CO 384/15 f. 483.
54 The government gave subsidies in 1820-1821 to many hundreds of Scots who relocated to the Rideau Valley settlements in Upper Canada. However, this was a one-off exercise that was never repeated.
55 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 116.
56 LAC (M-1354) Rev. James Hannay to Rev. Burns, December 1834. Rose Hill, near Bathurst, was formed by emigrant Scots in around 1828.
57 Ibid.
58 Wynn, *Timber Colony,* 164–5.
59 LAC MG24 D50: Daniel McGruar fonds, letter dated July 4, 1859.
60 W.F. Ganong, "History of Miscou," in *Acadiensis*, Vol.VI, No. 2, April (1906) 87.
61 Ibid, 88–92.
62 Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 76.
63 1861 Census.

CHAPTER 7: THE SKYE SETTLERS

1 *IJ,* September 9, 1836.
2 Jean K. Spilman, "Scotch Settlement" in Nashwaak Bicentennial Association, *And The River Rolled On,* (2000) 147–9.
3 Alexander Nicolson, *History of Skye* (Glasgow: Alexander Maclaren & Sons, 1930) 382-7; James Hunter, *The* Making of the Crofting Community (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1976) 36–8, 41, 47–9; Eric Richards, *The Highland Clearances: People, Landlords and Rural Turmoil* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd., 2000) 228–30.
4 Thomas Baillie, the New Brunswick Commissioner of Crown Lands and Surveyor-General had the initial idea of forming a land company. Capital was provided by London merchants who were encouraged and assisted by Lord Stanley, the colonial secretary (see MacNutt, *New Brunswick,* 231–2).
5 The Canada Company, which was founded in 1826 with the Scottish novelist John Gait as its first commissioner in Upper Canada, advertised Upper Canada with great gusto and attracted large numbers of immigrants to the province. For details of its formation, see Robert C. Lee, *The Canada Company and the Huron Tract, 1826–1853* (Toronto: Natural Heritage, 2004).
6 For an analysis of the British American Land Company's role as a settlement promoter, see John Irvine Little, *Nationalism, Capitalism and Colonization in Nineteenth Century Quebec, the Upper St. Francis District* (Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989) 36–61.
7 The British American Land Company also experienced similar problems in attracting settlers to its St. Francis Tract in Lower Canada.
8 See for example "Prospectus of the New Brunswick Company" in Bouchette, *British Dominions in North America,* Vol. II, 287–8.
9 The company was never profitable. It had to sell much of its land below the original price which it paid, and by 1872 the company finished trading.
10 For details of the Skye communities at Belfast, in Prince Edward Island, which were founded in 1803 under Lord Selkirk's direction, see Lucille Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage, 2003) 24–50. For details of the later Skye influx to the Island, from 1829 to 1841, see Campey, *Very Fine Class of Immigrants,* 80–9.
11 For details of Skye emigration to Cape Breton, see Campey, *After the Hector,* 121–2, 139, 146–7, 154–6, 258–9, 273, 290–1. Cape Breton was phenomenally attractive to emigrants from the Western Isles. Particularly large numbers emigrated between 1816 and the mid-1840s. For

details of the Skye settlement in Lower Canada, see Campey, *Les Ecossais,* 65–7.

12 *IJ*, August 6, 1830.

13 Land company advertisement in *IJ,* July 1, 1836.

14 Ibid.

15 PANB RS24 1838/pe File 4 petition # 77.

16 Spilman, "Scotch Settlement," 148.

17 Bruce Elliott, "Emigrant Recruitment by the New Brunswick Land Company:The Pioneer Settlers of Stanley and Harvey," in *Generations* (Winter, 2004) 50–4; Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 82–3. The New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company built two town sites—one at Stanley, the other at Campbell (later Bloomfield Ridge) along the Southwest Miramichi River. Stanley was the more successful of the two in attracting settlers.

18 Settlers were given 50 year leases with an option to purchase.

19 *IJ*, July 1, 1836.

20 PANB RS24 1838/pe File 4 petition #77.

21 *IJ*, July 1, 1836.

22 PANB RS24 1838/pe File 4 petition #77.

23 QM, July 27, 1837.

24 In 1835, the passenger to tonnage ratio was three passengers for every five tons. Edwin C. Guillet, *The Great Migration: The Atlantic Crossing by* Sailing Ships *since 1110* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963) 13–9.

25 (ijuly 1, 1836.

26 PANB RS24 1838/pe File 4 petition #77.

27 *NBC,* Oct. 22, 1836.

28 PANB RS24 1838/pe File 4 petition #77. "Ten days" has been crossed out and replaced in another hand by "six weeks." However, six weeks seems implausible.

29 Spilman, "Scotch Settlement," 147. Another "Scotch Settlement" in York County, later known as Maryland, was formed about 1817 by Maryland Loyalists and Scottish immigrants.

30 PANB RS24 1838/pe File 4 petition #77.

31 Ibid.

32 A second group of settlers from Northumberland and the eastern Borders, who arrived in 1837 intending to settle in Stanley, found that no land was available; so they moved south and founded Harvey thus escaping the land company's control. For details of the Harvey settlement, see Elliott, "Emigrant Recruitment by the New Brunswick Land Company" in *Generations* (Summer, 2005) 11–17.

33 For details of the Stanley settlers, see Elliott, "Emigrant Recruitment by the New Brunswick Land Company" in *Generations* (Spring, 2005) 34–41.

34 PANB RS24 1838/pe File 4 petition #77.

35 Sharon Bird Anderson, "One Incredible Scot," in *Celtic Heritage,* (March/April, 2006) 4–7.

36 Fredericsburg was founded by Scots. Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 132.

37 Scotch Lake was founded by six families from Roxburghshire and Dumfriesshire in 1820, see Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 155. Caverhill (Southampton Parish), just to the southwest of Scotch Lake, was founded in 1820 by Dr. Caverhill and several other families from the south of Scotland, see Ganong, 123.

38 Anderson, "One Incredible Scot," 5; Spilman, "Scotch Settlement," 148.

39 Fifteen of the 33 people signed their names while the remainder wrote a cross.

40 NAB CO 188/60 ff. 142-4. The petition was signed by John McLennan, James McLennan, Donald Hossack, Donald McGillivray, Donald J. McMillan, Widow McDonald, Duncan McDougall, Donald Phie, Samuel Nicholson, Austin MacDonald and James MacKinnon. Samuel Nicholson was the land company's interpreter.

41 Cowan, *British Emigration,* 140–41.

42 NAB CO 188/60 ff. 134–7, 144: Harvey to Colonial Office, Sept. 30, 1838; Grey to Stephen, May 15, 1838.

43 NAB CO 188/60 ff. 139–40: W.A. Robinson & D. Ludlow Robinson to Harvey, Sept. 15, 1838.

44 Elliott, "Emigrant Recruitment by the New Brunswick Land Company" in *Generations* (Spring, 2005) 38–39. The settlement locations of the Skye settlers are not known. Some may have accepted sites on the Canada Company's Huron Tract in western Upper Canada. Alternatively some might have joined the Skye settlement in Lower Canada.

45 The four family heads were: Margaret, widow of Donald Hossack, Margaret, Widow MacDonald, Anne, widow of James McKinnon and Austin MacDonald.

46 The ability to foresee the future, or "the Second Sight," is well attested in the Highlands and Islands, The commonest vision was to foresee death or disaster.

CHAPTER 8: LATER ARRIVALS: NEW KINCARDINESHIRE AND OTHER SETTLEMENTS

1 Anon., *Tlie Scotch Colony, the Story of 1873* (Margate, England: Eyre & Spottis-woode, n. d.) 12–13.
2 Quoted in *AJ,* April 30, 1873.
3 Ibid.
4 Emigrant Scots had founded a much earlier settlement called Scotch Corner (later Richmond Corner) in the southwest end of Carleton County in around 1822 (see Ganong, "Settlements in New Brunswick," 164).
5 Marchmont, "Glassville, A retrospective history of its rise and progress" in *The Glassville News and Aberdeen and Kent Pioneer,* March, May 1893. A few also came from Halifax, Nova Scotia. Also see Marjory Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland* Vol. 1, *Willing Exiles* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988) 211, 225, 234.
6 Martin Hewitt, "The itinerant emigration lecturer: James Brown's lecture tour of Britain and Ireland, 1861–2" in *The British Journal of Canadian Studies,* Vol. 10, no. 1 (1995) 103–9.
7 The family heads, who remained, included: Jeramiah Joyner, Donald McIntosh John Miller, William Love, Hector and John McIntosh, James Lawson and James, Robert and Peter Gray, Harry and William Lamont, Andrew Spence, John McLaughlin, John Millie, Archibald Scott, all from Scotland.
8 Marchmont, "Glassville."
9 Messrs. Welch and Lynch each ran timber businesses along this stretch of the river.
10 Marchmont, Ibid.
11 Born in Forfarshire, Brown had emigrated to New Brunswick in 1810 and eventually settled in St. David, Charlotte County. He rose to prominence being elected to the House of Assembly in 1830, becoming Surveyor General in 1850–54 and in 1861–62 was the provincial emigration agent.
12 PANB MC295/3/241 James Brown fonds: S.L. Tilley to James Brown, Sept. 20, 1861. In addition to his substantial correspondence, Brown kept a diary and published a report upon his return to New Brunswick.
13 PANB MC295/3/300: James Brown to John McMillan, May 17, 1862.
14 PANB MC295/3/271: Handyside & Henderson April 1, 1862. Although Brown could promote ships on behalf of shipping agents, he was not allowed to get involved in any actual shipping arrangements or offer any government assistance with funding.
15 PANB MC295/3/265, 3/270: Handyside & Henderson, March, 1862; Brown to Handyside & Henderson, April 4, 1862. Steerage fares cost *¿4.* 10s.
16 PANB MC295/3/305: Brown to A.H. Gilmour, June 5, 1862.
17 NAS GD 371/313: Robert Shives to Captain Stewart, June 23, 1862.
18 Ibid.
19 PP 1863 (3199) XV 247. The *Olympia* carried 244 passengers in total.
20 NAS GD 371/313.
21 PP 1863 (3199) XV 247.
22 CO 180/137 ff. 185–6: Robert Shives to Samuel Tilley, Aug. 26, 1862.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid. Three other families were more widely dispersed. One went to Lincoln (Sun-bury County), one to Lancaster (Saint John County) and one to Studholm (Kings County).
25 *Daily Review, July* 10, 1862.
26 Marjory Harper, "Crossing the Atlantic: Scottish Emigration to New Brunswick" in *Generations,* (Spring, 2001) 36–43.
27 The site was located to the east of the St. John River and was bounded by the Tobique River on the north, forest on the east and the county boundary on the south. *SJ* Aug. 15, Sept. 19, 1872.
28 A free grant of 200 acres was to be made to each head of family and 100 acres to single men. *SJ,* Sept. 19, 1872.
29 *SJ* Oct. 3, 10, 1872.
30 *SJ*, Oct. 16, 1872.
31 *SJ*, Aug. 22, 1872.

32 *SJ*, Sept. 12, 1872. According to the editorial, daughters of poorer emigrants could get jobs in service and have their passages pre-paid by their future employer.
33 *SJ,* Sept. 19, 1872.
34 *AJ*, April 23, 1873.
35 *SJ*, Nov. 14, 1872.
36 *SJ*, Nov. 21, 1872.
37 *SJ*, Jan. 23, 1873.
38 *SJ*, Feb. 20, 1873. This edition of the paper contained an endorsement from a Banffshire minister, the Rev. James Mackie, who had previously lived in New Brunswick. He based it on a letter, supporting the scheme, which he had received from James McAllister of Moncton.
39 *SJ*, March 13, 1873.
40 *SJ,* April 3, 1873.
41 *SJ*, March 20, 1873
42 Hon. B.R. Stevenson (Surveyor General) *Report on immigration to New Brunswick in 1873* (Saint John: Daily Telegraph Printing, 1874) 7.
43 *AJ*, April 30, 1873.
44 There was a great deal of confusion over the number who actually sailed. A week earlier the *Aberdeen Journal* had stated that 700 to 750 people were due to sail (see AJ April 23, 1873). A month later the same newspaper reported that 500 people had sailed (see *AJ* May 28, 1873).
45 Anon., *The Scotch Colony,* 13-20. The passenger list, which reveals the occupations of the steerage passengers, was supplied by Messrs. Scammel Bros., who were presumably the Glasgow shipping agents.
46 *AJ*, May 28, 1873.
47 PANB MC 712 MSI: History of Kincardine, Kincardine Women's Institute (Nov. 22, 1967) 63.
48 Stevenson, *Report on immigration to New Brunswick in 1873,* 9–11.
49 William S. Cummings "Remembrances of early Scotch Colony Life" in *The Tobiquer,* no. 6 (December, 1984) 27 reported in Harper, "Crossing the Atlantic: Scottish Emigration to New Brunswick" 40.
50 Anon., *The Scotch Colony,* 6.
51 Stevenson, *Report on immigration to New Brunswick in 1873,* 10.
52 Ibid.
53 Ibid. However the family became disillusioned and returned to Kintore after five years.
54 *AJ,* May 28, 1873 (report taken from the Saint John *Daily Telegraph* of May 10).
55 Jack, *History of the Saint Andrew's Society of Saint John,* 105–6.
56 *AJ* May 28, 1873.
57 The worst winter for 20 years left large quantities of snow which, when it thawed, had flooded the land.
58 SJ, June 5, 1873.
59 The article was quoted in SJJune 26, 1873.
60 Ibid.
61 *AFP,* May 17, 1873.
62 SJ, Oct. 15, 1873.
63 SJ, July 3, 1873.
64 SJ, July 24, 1873.
65 PANB MC 300 MS2/S: E. Tappan Adney, "History of the Fraser Company and the Scotch Colony" (n.d.).
66 *SJ,* April 2, 1874.
67 *SJ,* May 14, 1874.
68 *SJ,* March 26, 1874.
69 *SJ* March 19, 1874.
70 Data from a statistical review undertaken by the Surveyor-General in July, 1873 reported in Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland,* 233–4.
71 *SJ,* May 21, June 4, 1874.
72 Duncan A. MacPhail, *New Kincardineshire: An Intimate History of the Early Years of a Scottish Settlement in New Brunswick* (Fredericton, NB: Centennial Print & Litho Ltd., 1977) 2.
73 MacPhail, *New Kincardineshire,* 129.
74 Harper, "Crossing the Atlantic," 42.
75 PANB MC 712 MSI: History of Kincardine, Kincardine Women's Institute, 65–6.
76 MacPhail, *New Kincardineshire,* 69–73.

77 Ibid, 72.

CHAPTER 9: WITH AXE AND BIBLE

1 Jack, *History of the Saint Andrew's Society of Saint John,* 184.
2 Ibid, 179.
3 Ibid, 185.
4 Macmillan, "Scottish Enterprise and Influences in Canada," 46–79.
5 David S. Macmillan, "Shipbuilding in New Brunswick: From the Clyde to the Samt John River —1798" in *Canadian Banker,* Vol. 77 (1970) 34–6. By 1798 such was the scarcity of shipbuilding timber on the Clyde, largely caused by Britain's war with France that had begun five years earlier, that Scott and Company decided to set up a Saint John shipyard. There they had readily-available timber and could build ships quickly by importing the necessary skills and materials from Scotland.
6 The notorious Glencoe massacre of 1692 was a clumsy attempt by King William to punish the MacDonald Clan for allegedly defying his authority.
7 T.W. Acheson, "The great merchant and economic development in Saint John, 1820-1850" in *Acadiensis* VIII (2) (1979) 3–27.
8 UNBA MG HI7: Historical Background. A Saint Andrew's Society was also founded at Restigouche.
9 UNBA MG H17: File 14 (loose folders).
10 By 1854 there were only 37 members (see UNBA MG H17: Box 12c). The Fredericton Saint Andrew's Society still exists and presently gives grants of $500 to students of Scottish ancestry who take courses at the University of New Brunswick.
11 The Rev. Daniel Fraser speaking at the centenary celebrations of the Saint Andrew's Society of Saint John. Jack, Ibid, 185.
12 UNBA MG H17: Box 12a.
13 The Highland Society of New Brunswick at Miramichi contributed $500 towards the building of the Burns statue in 1906.
14 Thanks largely to the efforts of the Highland Society of London, the wearing of the kilt, which had been banned following the Jacobite uprising of 1745–46, became the accepted national dress of Scotland.
15 Highland Society of New Brunswick, Miramichi, "Gatherin' o' the Clans Banquet, Nov. 30, 1942 (Archives & Special Collections UNB).
16 At the time Macdonald was also chief of the Highland Society of Nova Scotia. Castle Tioram (or Tirrim), now a ruin, was built in Moidart 600 years ago. It was an early home of the Clanranald MacDonalds.
17 Jack, *History of the Saint Andrew's Society of Saint John,* 108, 134.
18 Ibid, 12–3.
19 Ibid, 18.
20 Ibid, 168.
21 Gesner, *New Brunswick,* 379.
22 Helen Creighton, *Maritime Folk Songs* (Toronto: Breakwater, 1979) 201–2.
23 The New Brunswick Scottish Cultural Association, founded in 1980, provided support for the Highland Games. The first Games were held at the Exhibition Grounds in Fredericton in 1981.
24 John G. Gibson, *Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998) 216, 223–4.
25 Ted Cowan, "The Myth of Scotch Canada," in Marjory Harper and Michael E. Vance, (eds.) *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory* (Halifax: Fernwood & John Donald, 1999) 49–72.
26 Gerald Redmond, The *Sporting Scots of nineteenth century Canada* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1982) 121.
27 J. Hedley "Curling in Canada" in *Dominion Illustrated Monthly,* Vol. I (1892) quoted in Redmond, *The Sporting Scots,* 172–3.
28 J.W. Grant, "Population Shifts in the Maritime Provinces" in *Dalhousie Review,* Vol. 17, no. 3 (1937–8) 282–94.
29 For a description of the ships that carried emigrant Scots to Prince Edward Island, see Campey, *Very Fine Class of Immigrants,* 90–9; for Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, see Campey, *After the Hector,* 164–81; for Upper Canada, see Campey, *Scottish Pioneers of Upper Canada,* 152–70 and for Lower Canada, see Campey, *Les Ecossais,* 123–48.

30 Innes Fraser Macleod, *Shipping in Dumfries and Galloway in 1820,* Scottish local history texts no. 1 (Kirkcudbright: I.F. MacLeod, 1973) 4–14. By 1830, with the coming of larger ships and more centralized transport, the Cumbrian ports of Maryport, Workington and Whitehaven took over as the main overseas passenger departures ports for the southwest of Scotland.

31 LAC (M-1354) Rev. James Souter to Rev. Burns, January 26, 1836.

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INDEX

Aberdeen, Scotland, 20, 52, 59, 97, 104, 115, 119, 120, 124, 131, 141–44, 146, 148–150, 152–55
Aberdeen Agricultural Society (Glassville), 115
Aberdeen Free Presbytery, 119
Aberdeen Free Press, 125
Aberdeen Herald, 150
Aberdeen Journal, 52, 118, 124, 178
Aberdeen Parish (Carleton County), 114
Aberdeenshire, 20, 22, 113
Aberfoyle (Perthshire), 75
Abernathy, William, 25, 69
Acadia, Acadians, 3, 4, 17, 56, 90, 98, 100, 103, 156, 164, 1665, 172
Adam, John, 172
Adam, Robert, 172
Adams, Justus, 167
Addington, Parish of (Restigouche County), 96, 97, 104
Aitken Max (Lord Beaverbrook), 65, 133, 137
Aitken, William (Rev.), 65, 71, 137
Alcorn, Archibald, 51
Albert, County of (NB), 92
Alexander, Jane, 87
Alien, James, 121
Allan, Alexander, 21
Allan, Homer C., 168
Allan, Mary (Miss), 84, 85
Allan, Robert, 86
Alnwick, Parish of (Northumberland County), 51, 53, 54, 56, 57, 73, 117, 164, 165
American War of Independence (1775–1783), 4, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 27, 28, 48, 160
Anchor Line, 117, 120, 124, 128
Anderson, ____ (Rev.), 82
Anderson, Patrick, 70
Anderson, William, 122
Angus, John, 102
Angus, Scotland, 115
Annan (Dumfriesshire), 58, 76, 89, 166
Archibald, Robert (Rev.), 69
Argyll, Scotland, 43, 165
Argyll Highlanders Regiment (74th), 29, 30, 37
Aroostook (Victoria County), 6
Arran, Isle of, 10, 94, 96, 101, 103, 115, 173, 174
Arthur Ritchie and Company, 100
Assynt (Sutherland), 33

Athol House, 98
Atholville (Restigouche County), 97, 135
Atkinson, Christopher (Rev.), 43, 44
Ayr, Scotland, 94
Ayrshire, 69, 91–93, 103

Bailey, Balfour, 135
Baillie, Thomas, 174
Bain, Alexander, 25
Blair, George, 25
Blair, John, 75, 77
Bay of Fundy, 3, 4, 16, 17, 19, 82
Bagpipes, 134, 135, 138
Baie-des-Chaleurs, see Chaleur Bay
Banffshire, 20, 159
Baptists, Calvinist Baptists, 14, 43, 69, 83, 85
Bartholomew's Mills (later Blackville Village), 70
Bartibog (Northumberland County), 51, 56
Bass River, 90
Basswood Ridge (Charlotte County), 34
Bathurst (Gloucester County), 98, 100, 104, 116, 172
Bay du Vin (Northumberland County), 51, 54–56
Beaubears Point (later Wilson's Point) (Northumberland County), 4, 48–50, 53, 156
Beaubears Island (Northumberland County), xvii, 4, 23, 50, 59, 60
Beaverbrook, Lord, see Aitken, Max
Belledune (Gloucester County), 103
Belledune River, 101
Belleisle River, 82
Bennmg, R. (Mr.), 120
Berwickshire, 115
Bissett, William, 123
Black, John, 59, 131
Black Brook, (Northumberland County), 57
Black River (Northumberland County), 51, 54–56
Black River (Saint John County), 82
Black River Church, 55
Black Watch, see Royal Highland
Regiment Blackville, Parish of (Northumberland County), 50, 69, 70, 164
Blackville Village, 70
Blair, John, 75
Blissfield, Parish of (Northumberland County), 50, 54, 69, 70, 164
Board of Supervision for the Relief of the Poor in Scotland, 116, 117
Boiestown (NB), 35, 42
Boishébert, Charles Deschamps de, 3
Boles, Thomas, 173
Bon Accord (Victoria County), 119, 128
Bon Accord School, 126
Borders, Scotland, 9, 10, 75, 88, 94, 110, 170
Botsford, Parish of (Westmorland County), 92, 93
Bouchette, Joseph, 8, 51, 72
Bouctouche (Kent County), 89
Boyd, William, 163
Bradbury, Clement, 60, 61, 166
Breadalbane estate (Perthshire), 42, 77
British American Land Company, 105, 175
British American Land Company Views in Lower Canada, 84
British Loyalist assistance program, 14
British Navy, 21
British West Indies, 30, 38, 46

Brown, George, 21
Brown, James, 14, 115, 177
Brown, William (Capt.), 14, 117, 118, 124, 125
Bruce, David, 25
Buchan, William, 25
Buchanan, Donald, 79
Burgess, William, 81
Burns, Robert, 132
Burnt Church (Northumberland County), 51, 56, 57, 165
Burr, Robert, 169
Butler, William (Capt.), see also Ship Captains

Caithness, Scotland, 12, 43, 54, 161
Callaghan, Patrick, 135
Callander (Perthshire), 76
Cambridge, Parish of (Queens County), 85
Cameron, Alexander, 165
Cameron, Hugh, 29, 165
Cameron, John, 79
Campbell, Alexander, 169
Campbell, Colin (Lieut.), 30
Campbell, Colin, 34–36, 161
Campbell, Dugald (Lieut.), 24
Campbell, Duncan, 75
Campbell, James, 80
Campbell, John, 39, 161
Campbell, John, 54, 104
Campbell, Patrick, 8, 24, 30, 58, 160, 164
Campbellton (Restigouche County), 98, 99, 101
Canada Company, 105, 107, 174
Canada Illustrated News, 92
Canning, Parish of (Queens County), 85
Cape Breton, xv, 3, 5, 6, 16, 34, 47, 51, 101, 107, 111, 137, 148, 157, 164, 175
Carleton, Thomas (Gov.), 38
Carleton, (NB), 19, 93
Carleton, County of (NB), 94, 106, 114–116, 176
Carleton, Parish of (Kent County), 89
Carruthers, John, 70
Carvel, Lewis, 120
Castle Tioram Regiment of Highlanders (PEI), 133
Central Bank, New Brunswick, 132
Central New Brunswick Woodmen's Museum, 35, 42
Chaleur Bay, xvi, 10, 19, 95, 101–103, 138, 150
Chapman, Charles W., 120
Charles, Edward, 86
Charlotte, County of (NB), 3, 8, 14, 29, 31–34, 36–39, 46, 47, 135, 141, 161, 163
Charlotte County Highland Society, 45
Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, 9, 138, 145–47
Chatham (Northumberland County)
  Parish of, 50, 53, 65, 69
  Town of, xvii, 4, 10, 12, 48, 49, 63, 64, 66, 67, 69, 72, 117, 133
Chatham Presbyterian Congregation, 70
Chiqecto Bay, Nova Scotia, 3
Chipman, Parish of (Queens County), 85
Church of England, 14, 74, 83, 90
Church of Scotland, 14, 44, 54, 63, 66, 71, 84, 90, 99
City Gazette (Saint John), 146
Clark, James, 21
Clouston, Euphemia, 53

Clyde, Peter, 59
Clyde region, Scotland, 12, 53, 59, 63, 77, 78, 85, 116, 128, 131, 149, 179
Cockburn, ____ (Lieut.-Col.), 6
Cockburn, John, 30
Cocker, James. 123
Colborne, Parish of (Restigouche
County), 101, 104
Colebrook, William (Sir) (Lieut.-Gov.), 45
Colebrook (Restigouche County), 96
Colonial Office, 12, 64, 74, 101, 103, 146
Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, 129
Connecticut, State of 18
Connel, William, 81
Cook, John, 174
Cooney, Robert, xvi, 54, 89, 90
Cort, John, 20–23
Coulder, John, 68
Courant, 35, 162
Crawford, George, 169
Cromarty, Scotland Crookshank, Andrew, 131
Cumberland (England), 89
Cumberland Bay (Queens County), 85
Cummings, William, 124
Cunard, Joseph, 98, 100, 167
Curling, 134, 135
Currie, John, 169
Currie, John, 174

Daily Review (Edinburgh), 117
Daily Sun (Saint John), 159, 172, 183
Dalhousie (Restigouche County)
    Parish of, 96, 101
    Town of, 96, 98, 101
Darnell, William, 109
Davidson, Alexander, 67, 168
Davidson, Thomas, 169
Davidson, William, 4, 8, 20–25, 50, 58, 59, 97, 159, 166
Deans, John, 102
Derby, Parish of, see also Nelson Parish, 70
Derby Junction, see also Wilson's Point, 134
Dewar, Peter, 71, 169
Deware, John, 80
Digby (NS), 33, 34, 39
Digdeguash River, 29, 31, 44, 45
Dipper Harbour (Saint John County), 82
Doak, Robert Harvie, 69, 71
Doaktown (Northumberland County), 69, 71, 168
Donald Fraser and Sons, 126
Donaldson, Lauchlan, 116
Donaldson, James, 61
Donaldson. William, 169
Douglas, Howard (Sir) (Lieut.-Gov.), 72
Douglastown (Northumberland County), 10–12, 63, 64, 100, 117, 167
Dow, William, 30
Downie, Ivan, 135
Drummond, James, 75
Dumfries, Scotland, 9, 52, 53, 58, 85, 88, 91, 138, 143–48, 152–55, 164, 166
Dumfries and Galloway Courier, 89, 147
Dumfries Weekly Journal, 144–46

Dumfriesshire, 10, 53, 58, 63, 64, 75, 88, 89, 94
Dunbar, Helen, 122
Dunbartonshire, 37, 78
Duncan, Archibald, 60–62
Duncan, James, 60, 67
Duncan, John, 131
Duncan, William, 166
Dundee, Scotland, 115, 142
Dundee (Restigouche County), 96
Dundee Township (Lower Canada), 107
Dunfy, Joseph, 21
Dunlop, William, 94
Dunn, Daniel, 21
Dunn, Robert, 90
Durham, Parish of (Restigouche County), 102, 103
Duthie, Angus C., 121

East Scotch Settlement (Kings County), 82, 83
Eastern Townships (Lower Canada), 101, 105
Eddrachilles (Sutherland), 33
Edinburgh, Scotland, 43, 59, 60, 115
Edmunds, Alexander, 169
Edward, James, 77, 125, 169
Edwards, James, 122
Eel River, 172
Emigration
  causes, 5, 14, 34, 94. 100, 116
  emigration agent/officier, 14. 115, 116, 118, 177
  financial assistance, 14, 34, 77, 78, 116, 117
  Select Committee, 1826–27, 174
End, William, 98
English settlers, 12, 36, 62, 161

Fair Isle (Shetland), 115–117
Fendley, Charles, 169
Fergus, John, 116
Ferguson, Francis, 173
Ferguson, Robert, 97, 98
Ferguson, Peter, 79
Ferguson, Rankin and Co., 100
Ferris, Edward, 135
Fiddles, William, 168
Fife, Scotland, 115, 131
Findlator, James, 123
Finnis, Andrew, 70
Fisher, Peter, 7, 72
Fishery, fisheries, 20, 23, 50, 52, 57, 97, 101
Fitzgerald, Michael, 62
Fitzsimmons, Thomas, 2
Forfarshire, 177
Forsyth, William, 59
Fort George, 28, 30
Fort Louisberg, 4
Fort William, Scotland, 53, 144, 153
Fowler, Elijah, 61
Fraser, ____ (Rev), 48, 56
Fraser, Daniel (Rev.), 179
Fraser, Donald, 126
Fraser, James, 59, 60, 166, 168

Fraser, John, 59, 67, 71
Fraser, Peter, 131
Fraser, William, 157
Fraser's Highlanders (78th), 54, 160, 165
Frazer, Donald, 21
Fredericton, (NB), 8, 10, 12, 13, 16–20, 24, 41, 50, 59, 95, 110, 111, 125, 128, 131, 132, 135
Fredericton Emigrant Society, 13
Fredericsburg (York County), 111, 176

Gaelic (language), xvii, 9, 10, 14, 34, 36, 54, 55, 101–103, 108, 130, 133, 135
Gallaghan. John, 169
Galloway (Kent County), 89, 90, 136
Gaspé Peninsula, 98, 104, 156
Gaspereau River (Queens County), 85
Gatt, David, 102
Georgia, State of, 3
Gesner, Abraham, 134
Gilchrist, Archibald, 74
Gilchrist, Thomas, 87
Gillice, James, 159
Gillis, Abigail, 71
Gillis, Angus, 21, 71
Gillis, Mary, 71
Gilmour, ___, (Mrs.), 149
Gilmour, Allan, 8, 167
Gilmour, James, 67, 133, 167
Gilmour, Rankin & Co., 63, 100
Gilmour, Robert, 149
Glasgow, Scotland, 28, 59, 76, 85, 100, 104, 114–116, 120, 131, 149, 153, 154, 161
Glasgow Colonial Society, xvi, 14, 36, 55, 65, 69, 74, 82, 84, 90, 92, 99, 102, 138, 158, 168
Glasgow Herald, 114
Glass, Charles Gordon, 114, 115
Glassville (Carleton County), 114, 115, 117
Glencoe (Restigouche County), 96
Glencoe massacre, 131, 179
Glenelg, Parish of (Northumberland County), 51, 53, 54, 57, 69, 73, 89, 135, 164
Glenlivit (Restigouche County), 96
Gloucester, County of (NB), 8, 100, 103, 104, 165
Goadsman, Alexander, 21
Godfrey, Enoch, 165
Good, James, 102
Gordon, Duke of, 20
Grace Presbyterian Church (Millerton), 65
Grand Lake (Queens County), 85
Gray, James, 177
Gray, Robert, 177
Green, John, 61
Greenock Church (St. Andrews), 35, 40
Greenock, Scotland, 6, 38, 41, 52, 59, 75–77, 85, 86, 88, 105, 108, 109, 131, 143, 148–50, 153–55
Gregor, James, 74
Gunn, (Mr.), 54
Gunn, Alexander, 55
Gunn, Marcus, 10, 64, 167

Halifax (NS), 21, 31, 59, 60, 138, 148–50, 157, 166
Hamilton, (Mr.), 101
Hamilton, Duke of, 10, 100, 101
Hamilton, John, 101
Hamilton Emigration Society, 103

Hammond River, 84
Hampton Parish (Kings County), 75, 84
Handyside and Henderson (Glasgow shipping agency), 116
Hannay, James, 171
Hannay, James (Rev.), 14, 55, 90, 171
Hanson, Aubrey, 135
Hardwicke Parish, see Glenelg Parish
Harmaen, William, 169
Harper, Robert, 104
Harvey, John (Sir) (Lieut.-Gov.), 111
Harvey (York County), 176
Hay, Alexander, 21
Hay, Margery, 22, 57
Hebridean Islands, 100, 148
Henderson, Alexander, 22
Henderson, George, 159
Henderson, H. (Mr.), 69, 70
Henderson, James, 159
Henderson, Peter, 159
Henderson Camp, 96
Hewey, John, 29
Hickman, William, 101
Highland Dress, 180
Highland Games, 180
Highland Society of London, 133, 179
Highland Society of New Brunswick, 133, 179
Highlanders, xvii, 5, 8, 9, 14, 33, 34, 43, 51, 53–57, 64, 102, 104, 105, 108, 110, 113, 135, 164
Highlanders and Islanders, 5, 6, 9, 10, 51, 54, 176
Hind, Joseph, 81
Historical and Statistical Account of New Brunswick, A, 43, 44
History of New Brunswick, 1 Home, Frederick (Rev.), 71
Hossack, Donald, 176
Hossack, Margaret, 176
Hunter, ___ (Mr.), 94
Hunter, A. (Mr.), 127
Hunter, Alex, 122
Huntington County (Lower Canada), 107
Île Royale, see also Cape Breton, 3
Île Saint Jean, Island of St. John, see also Prince Edward Island, 3, 16
Immigrant Arrivals
  taxes, 5
  numbers, 10, 12, 34, 64, 72, 73, 85, 88, 91, 146
  quarantine arrangements, 13, 116, 124
Inches, Charles, 149
Inches, Mary, 149
Inverness Journal, 107, 108, 157
Inverness, Scotland, 12, 59
Inverness County (Cape Breton), 148
Inverness-shire, 20, 22, 113, 157
Ireland, 33, 34, 76
Irish settlers, Irish, xv, 5, 12, 13, 45, 46, 62, 64, 73, 83, 84, 94, 98, 103
Irvine, Alex, 121
Irving, Andrew, 70

J. &T. Jardine (shipbuilding), 91
James, William, 159
Jardine, John, 91
Jardine, John, 91
Jardine, Thomas, 91

Jeffreys, C.W., 31
Jemmison, Robert, 169
Johnston, David, 121
Johnston, J.F.W., xvi, 95
Johnston, Hugh, 131, 169
Johnston, William (Rev.), 168
Joyner, Jeramiah, 177

Kay, W.P., 107
Keary, Michael, 62
Kelp industry, 100, 105, 173
Kendall, Edward, 6
Kenmore (Perthshire), 76
Kennebecasis River, 74, 83, 84
Kennebecasis Valley, 82
Kent, County of (NB), 8, 10, 75, 88, 89, 94, 135, 136
Kilmarnock (Ayrshire), 102, 103, 174
Kincardine (Victoria County), 128, 136
Kincardineshire, Scotland, 113, 117, 120, 136
King, ___, (Mrs.), 75
Kings, County of (NB), 43, 75, 82, 91, 92, 115
King's New Brunswick Regiment, 38
Kintore, Scotland, 120
Kintore (Victoria County)
  Lower, 128, 129
  Upper, 128, 129
Kirk, James, 131
Kirkcudbrightshire, 89, 94, 142, 144
Kirkwall (Orkney), 53, 144, 152
Knowles, Elspeth, 119
Kouchibouguac (Kent County), 55, 56, 89

Laing, John, 157
Lake Utopia, 31
Lamont, Harry, 177
Lamont, William, 177
Lanarkshire, 82, 86, 87, 103
Lancaster, Parish of (Saint John County), 82
Land
  acquisition, 5, 6
  squatting, 6, 56
Land companies, see British North
  American Land Company; Canada
  Company; New Brunswick and Nova
  Scotia Land Company Law, Andrew Bonar, 171
Law, James (Rev), 171
Lee, Henry, 97
Leith, Scotland, 60, 67, 143, 155
Lesmahagow (Lanarkshire), 82, 149
Letang (Charlotte Country), 43
Lily Lake (Restigouche County), 96
Linford, Kenneth, 135
Little, David, 30
Little Ridge, see Scotch Ridge
Liverpool (later Richibucto), 90
Lloyd's of London, 109, 138
Lloyd's Shipping Codes, 151, 152
Loyd's Shippng Register, 152
Loch Lomond (Saint John County), 75, 78, 82, 136

Loch, William, 59–62, 65, 67, 166, 167
Logan, Isaac, 122
Logie, Robert, 22, 57
Loggieville (Northumberland County), 57, 58
Long, Peter, 21
Lord Seaforth's Highlanders (78th), 10, 167
Lothians, the, Scotland, 115
Love, William, 177
Low, David, 121
Lowlanders, Lowland Scots, xvii, 57, 58, 75, 85, 104, 136
Lower Canada, Province of, 5, 16, 19, 88, 99, 101, 105, 107
Lower Falls, 43
Lower Millstream (Kings County), 83
Loyalists, United Empire Loyalists, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 16–19, 21, 23, 27–32, 34, 37, 38, 42, 48, 50, 51, 53, 69, 70, 74, 82, 85, 96–98, 104, 131, 158–60
Ludlow, Parish of, also see Blackville and Blissfield parishes, 62, 69, 70
Lumber camp(s), 14, 41, 51, 73
Lynch, Peter, 86
Lyons, Jeremiah, 62

MacBeath, Alexander, 165
MacDonald, Lord, 105
MacDonald, ___ (Major), 54
MacDonald, Alexander, 39, 56, 57, 165
MacDonald, Austin, 176
MacDonald, Donald, 34, 39
MacDonald Highlanders Regiment (76th), 27, 56
MacDonald, Jean (Mrs.), 134
MacDonald, John, of Glenaladale (Capt.), 57
MacDonald, Laughlan, 131
MacDonald, Margaret, 176
MacDonald, Mysie (Margery), 111, 112
MacDonald, Roderick Charles (Lieut.-Gov.), 133
MacDougal, John, 91
MacDougall, Peter, 165
MacDougall Settlement (Westmorland County), 91, 92
MacGregor, James (Rev.), 25, 35
MacKay, George, 163
MacKenzie, Isabella, 12
MacKenzie, Donald Dugald, 12
Mackie, James (Rev.), 178
MacKinnon, James, 112
MacLean, Alexander (Rev.), 3, 13, 14, 138
MacLean, Alexander (Rev), 40–43, 45
Macleod, Hugh, 39
MacPhie, Donald, 112
Main, David, 90
Mains, William, 81
Malcolm, John, 22
Mallock, Donald, 29
Maine, State of, 18, 33
Magaguadavic River, 37, 43, 45
Magaguadavic Village, 43
Maliseet First Nation, 4
Marks, John, 104
Martin, John (Rev), 83, 158
Martin, William, 71
Martin's Point (later Campbellton), 97, 98
Maryland (York County), 175

Marquie, Hugh, xvii
Mascareen Church, 44
Mascareen River, 43
Mascareen (St. George Parish), 43
Massachusetts, State of, 3
Matapédia (Lower Canada), 96
Matthews, James, 167
Maugerville (NB), 20, 21
McAllister, Charles, 174
McAllister, Ronald, 174
McBean, John, 62
McCallum, Duncan, 80
McCallum, Grace, 60, 61
McCauley, William, 26
McCreaJohn, 169
McCuaig, Rory, 112
McCulloch, Richard, 26
McCulloch, William, 26
McDonald, Alexander, 163
McDonald, D., 64
McFarlane, James, 75
McGregor, Alexander, 78
McGruar, Daniel, 104
McGurdy, Daniel, 169
Mclndoe, Mary, xvii
Mclnnes, Angus, 56
Mclntyre, Peter, 80
Mclntyre, Peter (Rev), 14, 35–37, 43
Mclvor, Donald, 104
McKay, Gordon, 163
McKaskle, John, 163
McKenzie, (Mrs.), 149
McKenzie, Thomas, 149
McKeown, David, 135
McKinzie, John, 37
McKnight, Elizabeth, 58
McKnight, Samuel, 58
McLachlan, Janet, 87
McLaren, Robert, 87
McLean, John (Rev.), 90
McLellan, Robert, 29
McLeod, Neil, 39
McLeod, Roderick, 54, 164
McLeod, William, 26
McMaster, Angus (Rev.), 56
McMillan, Miles, 26
McNamara, Norman, 62
McNaught, John, 81
McNeill, John (Sir), 117
McPhail's Tavern (Saint John), 131
McQueen, Archibald, 48, 49, 67, 163, 168
McTavish, Alexander, 29
McTavishJohn, 167
McVie, Andrew, 75
Mechanics' Institute (Saint John), 93, 158, 172
Mechanics' Settlement (Kings County), 93
Melville, Peter (Rev.), 128
Melville Church (Kincardine), 126–128
Methodists, Methodist Church, Methodism, 14, 37, 44, 54, 83, 92

Mi'kmaw First Nation (Mi'kmaq), 4, 90, 164, 172
Miller, Archibald, 77
Millerton (Northumberland County), 65, 70
Milltown (NB), 37
Minas Basin (Nova Scotia) Ministers, Presbyterian, see Presbyterianism
Miramichi,
  Bay, 9, 14, 22, 50, 51, 53–56, 136, 165
  Fire, 10–12, 14, 104
  Region, xvi, 3, 4, 10, 13, 16, 20, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 32, 47, 48, 50–52, 58–60, 63, 64, 70, 72, 73, 88, 89, 96, 97, 100, 104, 109, 117, 131, 138, 143–48, 150, 155, 157, 167
  River, 3, 4, 8, 9, 20–22, 48, 50, 56, 58, 59, 63, 64, 69
  Valley, 20
Miscou Harbour (Gloucester County), 103, 104
Miscou Island, 104
Mitchell, Peter, 68
Moffatt, A.C. (Dr.), 122
Moidart (Inverness-shire), 113
Molus River, 90
Moncton (Westmorland County), 92, 171
Monro, Donald, 21
Montgomerie Highlanders (77th), 160
Montreal (QC), 59, 131
Montrose, Scotland, 131
Montrose Review, 125
Moorfield (Northumberland County), (NB), 48, 49
Moors, Thomas, 123
Morayshire, 4, 20, 22, 131, 159
Morrison, John, 39
Morrison, John, 126
More, William, 23
Movers, Samuel, 61
Muirhead, John, 64
Muirhead, William, 64
Munn, William, 79
Munro, Alexander, 6, 66, 95
Munro, Hugh, 98
Murphy, John, 163
Murray, William, 66, 70

Nairnshire, 22, 159
Napan (Northumberland County), 58, 67
Napan River, 58
Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815), 5, 6 34, 75, 100
Nashwaak Bridge (York County), 28, 160
Nashwaak River, 8, 16, 24, 25, 50, 54, 105, 107
Navigation Acts, 30
Neguac (French settlement), 56, 117
Neilson, William, 77
Nelson, Garret, 135
Nelson, Parish of (Northumberland County), 50, 65, 69, 70, 117, 159
Nesmith, John, 67
New Carlisle (Lower Canada), 98, 99
New Brunswick Highland Society, 134
New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company, 13, 104, 104, 107, 113, 157, 175
New Brunswick Courier, 110
New Brunswick Scottish Cultural Association, 180
New Galloway, see Galloway
New Lights (Lichts), 92, 171
New Ireland, 84

New Jersey, State of, 18
New Kincardineshire (Victoria County), 14, 114, 117, 119, 120, 124, 16–129
New Lights (Lichts), 92
New Mills (Restigouche County), 101, 102
New Richmond (Lower Canada), 99, 102
New York, State of, 18, 131
New York City, 18, 33
Newcastle (Northumberland County), 14, 49
  Parish of, 50, 53, 54, 69, 73, 164
  Town of, 4, 11, 12, 20, 54–56, 58, 63–65, 67, 72, 102, 104, 117, 133, 159
Newcastle Presbyterian Congregation, 70
Newlands, James, 159
Nicolson, Norman, 105, 108, 109
Nicholson, Samuel, 176
Noble, Charles Sr., 102
Noble, John, 21
North Carolina, State of, 33
North Carolina Highlanders, 31
North Carolina Volunteers, 27
Northern Ireland, 83, 88
Northesk, Parish of (Northumberland County), 50, 54, 65, 71, 167, 168
Northumberland (England), 13, 110
Northumberland, County of (NB), xvii, 8, 10, 47, 66, 89, 135, 136, 166, 167
Northwest Miramichi River, 23, 50, 52, 58, 71, 159
Norton, Parish of (Kings County), 75, 82–84
Notes for Emigrants, 134
Nova Scotia, xv, 3, 5, 6, 16, 17, 31, 33, 34, 47, 53, 59, 71, 91, 104, 124, 136, 153, 157, 165
Nova Scotia Presbyterian Synod (Pictou), 69, 137

Oak Hill (Charlotte County), 34, 36
O'Brien, Edward, 62
Orkney Islands, Scotland, 53, 97
Overcrowding (on ships), 109

Pagan, John, 161
Pagan, Robert, 28–30, 34, 39, 41, 90
Pagan, Thomas, 28, 30, 161
Pagan, William, 28, 30, 59, 90, 131, 161, 169
Paisley, Scotland, 74
Parr, (NB), 19
Partridge Island, 13
Passamaquoddy Bay, 5, 18, 29–31, 33, 34, 37, 38, 141, 158
Passamaquoddy First Nation, 4
Passenger fares (Atlantic crossings), 77, 108, 111, 118, 142, 144, 160, 169, 177
Passenger lists, 79, 86, 120, 141, 142, 149, 169, 178
Passenger Acts (Atlantic crossings), 109
Passengers to New Brunswick, 86
Peabody, Francis, 70
Pearsonville (Kings County), 83
Peebles, George, 26
Penobscot Association, 29, 30, 32, 34, 38, 161
Penobscot District, 18
Penobscot River, 28, 31
Perth, Parish of (Victoria County), 120, 128
Perthshire, 12, 42, 43, 74, 76, 78, 82, 84, 85, 87, 97
Petitcodiac (Westmorland County), 91
Phie, Donald, 176
Pictou, Nova Scotia, 5, 35, 36, 48, 64, 138, 143, 144, 147, 167
Plaster Rock (Victoria County), 126

Pleasant Ridge (Charlotte County), 44
Plessis, Joseph Octave (Father), 56
Point La Nim, see Dundee
Pollok, Arthur, 167
Pollok, Gilmour and Company, 63, 100
Pomeroy Ridge (Charlotte County), 34
Pond, Abel, 62
Population, 5, 10, 16, 17, 29, 32, 34, 36–38, 40, 45–47, 49, 50, 62, 66, 73, 74, 88, 90, 92, 93, 99, 103, 104, 130, 136, 159, 163
Port Daniel (Lower Canada), 99
Port Glasgow, Scotland, 42, 76, 78
Porter, Joseph, 34, 36
Porteous, William, 56
Portland (ME), 28
Portree, Scotland, 105
Potts, Thomas, 118
Powell, ____, 90
Presbyterianism, Presbyterian(s), xvi, 12, 13, 14, 37, 40, 43–45, 48, 54, 55, 63, 66, 67, 70, 71, 73, 74, 78, 82, 85, 88, 90, 92, 98, 101, 103, 104, 114, 116, 135, 138, 168
Established Church, 44, 69, 83, 84
Free Church, 69, 114, 129
Prince Consort Library (Aldershot), 9
Prince Edward Island, xv, 3–6, 9, 10, 23, 47, 48, 51, 57, 88, 89, 91, 107, 111, 136, 137, 158, 164, 165, 171, 175
Prince of Wales Royal Canadian Regiment of Foot, 170
Pringle, Gordon Campbell (Rev.), 128, 129
Protestant, 23, 44, 63, 69, 99

Quarantine, see Immigration
Quebec, 88, 95, 100, 103, 109, 131, 138, 144, 146
Queens, County of (NB), 75, 82, 85, 91, 115
Queen's Rangers, 27

Rankin, Alexander, 8, 63, 64, 133, 166, 167, 168
Rankin, Robert, 133
Reay Fencibles Regiment, 33
Red Bank (Northumberland County), 71
Reeds Point (Hampton Parish), 82
Regiment of Foot (88th), 37
Religion, xvi, 14, 40, 73, 82, 83, 118, 138, 139, 158
Renfrewshire, 63, 87, 100
Restigouche, County of (NB), xvi, 8, 10, 14, 19, 61, 63, 94–98, 100, 102, 104, 135, 136, 156
Restigouche River, 20, 95–99, 101
Rexton (formerly Kingston), 91
Richibucto, (Kent County), 10, 14, 55, 59, 88, 89–91, 94, 138, 143, 144, 146, 147, 149, 171
Richibucto River, 89–91, 136, 171
Richibucto Village, 90
Rideau Valley (Upper Canada), 78, 174
Ritchie, Arthur, 100
Ritchie, William, 173
Rivière de Chute, 126
Roach, (Capt.), 120
Roberts, Stephen, 29
Robertson, Charles, 75
Robertson, Donald, 27
Robertson, John, 87
Roman Catholic(s), 56, 57, 112, 113, 159, 164
Rose, Donald, 27

Rose Hill, 174
Ross, Andrew, 27
Ross, George, 77, 169
Rossborough, George, 169
Ross-shire, 98
Roule, Matthew, 77
Royal Gazette, 46, 142, 144, 146
Royal Highland Emigrants Regiment (84th), 31, 169
Royal Highland Regiment (42nd), 8, 9, 16, 24, 25, 28, 50, 54, 69, 71, 104, 135, 160
Roxburghshire, 176
Roule, Matthew, 169

St. Andrews (Fife), 131
St. Andrews (NB)
  Parish of, 32, 36, 38, 44, 46, 47, 78
  Port of, 38, 45, 142, 156, 162
  Town of, 5, 12, 29–31, 33–35, 38–42, 45, 59, 143, 148, 161, 162
St. Andrews Church (Blackville), 70–72
St. Andrews Church (Chatham), 49, 69
St. Andrews Church (Saint John), 74, 75
St. Andrews Church (Richibucto), 90
St. Andrews Curling Club, 135
Saint Andrew's Pipe Band, 135
Saint Andrew's Society, 131, 133, 134
  Fredericton, 131, 179
  Saint John, 116, 124, 127, 130, 179
St. Johns Church (Chatham), 69
St. Anne's (later Fredericton), 17, 19
St. Croix River, 28, 37, 40, 45
St. David, Parish of, (Charlotte County), 38, 41, 46
St. George (NB), 31
St. George, Parish of (Charlotte County), 43, 46
St. James, Parish of (Charlotte County), 33, 34, 46, 161
St. James and St. John United Church (Newcastle), 66
St. James Presbyterian Church (Beaubears Point), 49
St. James Presbyterian Church (Newcastle), 65, 66, 71, 137
St. John, Island of (see Prince Edward Island)
Samt John (NB), 5, 10, 12, 14, 19, 25, 30, 38, 42, 43, 45, 63, 70, 74–79, 82, 85, 86, 88, 89, 92, 93, 100, 105, 108, 110, 116, 117, 119, 124, 127, 128, 130, 131, 133, 135, 141–148, 156, 159, 179
Saint John, County of (NB), 42, 43, 74, 75, 78, 91, 92, 115
St. John Presbyterian Church (Chatham), 69
St. John Presbyterian Church (Dalhousie), 101
St. John River, 16, 18, 19, 42, 105, 115, 125, 126, 177
St. John River Valley, 5, 16, 18, 32, 114, 158
St. Mary's, 110
St. Marks Presbyterian Church (Miscou Harbour), 103
St. Nicholas River, 90
St. Patrick, Parish of (Charlotte County), 44–46, 163
St. Paul's Church (Fredericton), 132
St. Peters, see Bathurst
St. Philips Church (Whitney), 71
St. Stephen (NB), 37, 46
St. Stephen, Parish of (Charlotte County), 34, 37, 38, 46, 161
St. Stephens Presbyterian Church (Black River), 56
St. Stephens Presbyterian Church (Red Bank), 71
Salt Springs (Kings County), 84
Sawmill(s), 21, 23, 37, 46, 54, 63, 69, 82, 115, 126
Scotch Corner (Carleton County), 176
Scotch Lake (York County), 111, 176

Scotch Ridge (Charlotte County), 33–36, 43, 141
Scotch Settlement (York County), see also Skye Settlement, 113
Scotch Settlement (Westmorland County), see MacDougall Settlement
Scotchtown (Queens County), 85
Scott, Christopher, 40, 41, 131
Scottish culture, xvii, 15, 73, 104, 130–135
Scottish Heritage Association (Miramichi), 24
Sellars, Robert, 30
Seven Years War (1756–1763), 156, 160
Seventy-Fourth Association, 31
Seymour River, 108
Shediac, Parish of (Westmorland County), 4, 91, 93
Shediac Harbour, 93
Sheep farms, 53, 77, 100, 105
Shelburne (NS), 30, 159
Shipbuilding, shipbuilder, 59, 64, 91, 97–99, 103, 130, 167, 179
Shipyard(s), xvii, 23, 60, 64, 131, 179, 159, 179
Ship captains:
- Allan, George, 149, 154
- Archibald, Donald, 153
- Atherden, 148, 153
- Baxter, William, 149, 155
- Blackett, Alexander, 144, 155
- Betts, Henry, 149
- Butler, William, 124
- Cameron, D., 150, 153
- Carruthers, John, 146
- Carswell, Robert, 144, 154
- Chaplain, J., 144, 153
- Clayton, James, 143, 154
- Craigie, Alexander, 142, 143, 155
- Davidson, William, 143, 147, 152, 155
- Davies, 148, 154
- Donald, Archibald, 143
- Douglas, 146
- Frier, 154
- Gibson, James, 145
- Hamilton, John, 100
- Hamilton, Peter, 149, 155
- Heughan, 148, 154
- Holliday, 147
- Hume, J., 147, 152
- Hyndman, John, 78, 142, 153
- Kirk, Joseph, 145, 147, 154
- Law, John, 147, 154
- Lawrence, Alexander, 142, 152
- Leslie, Alexander, 148, 150, 152
- Lookup, T., 146
- Maddison, 143
- Martin, A., 146, 153, 154
- Martin, Alexander, 144
- Martin, John, 146, 147, 153
- McDowall, 146, 152
- McMoreland, William, 143, 153
- Melville, John, 149, 153
- Miller, 148, 154
- Muir, James, 142, 144, 154
- Oswald, James, 142, 148, 149, 152, 154
- Pennan, Andrew, 141, 142, 154

Philip, Alexander, 142, 155
Potter, James, 141, 155
PottsJ., 148, 153
Prell, David, 144, 152
Rosie, 150, 154
Scorgie, Alexander, 142, 153
Simpson, Peter, 86, 149, 150
Simpson, Walter, 143, 155
Stephens, Alexander, 142, 155
Stevenson, 148, 154
Thomson, George, 142, 144–146, 153
Thomson, William, 155
Tobias, ___, 116
Whitehed, Robert, 144, 147
Whyte, James, 86, 149
Whyte, M., 150, 153, 155
Williams, James, 143, 145, 146, 153

Ships:

Aberdeenshire of Aberdeen, 148, 149, 152
Albion of Aberdeen, 148, 150, 152
Ann Grant, 147, 152
Argyle, 160
Augusta of Dumfries, 88, 138, 143–145, 152
Berry Castle of London, 53, 54, 144, 152
Britannia of Dumfries, 146, 147, 152
British Queen, 156
Brothers, 157
Cambria of Aberdeen, 142, 152
Canton, 149, 153
Carolina of Greenock, 162
Castalia, 120, 124, 129
Charlotte of Dumfries, 145, 153
Corsair, 101
Deveron of Glasgow, 150, 153
Diana of Dumfries, 146, 147, 150, 153
Elizabeth, 138, 148, 153
Elizabeth of Dumfries, 143, 144, 146, 147, 153
Favourite of Saint John, 42, 43, 78, 79, 82, 85, 142, 153
Ganges of Aberdeen, 144, 153
George Stevens, 148, 153
Granite of Aberdeen, 142, 153
Hector, 161
Henry of North Shields, 53, 144, 153
Highlander of Aberdeen, 143, 153
Hope of Greenock, 143, 153
Jane, 147, 149, 153
Jessie of Dumfries, 88, 138, 142, 143, 145, 146, 153
John and Mary, 156
La Solide, 38
Lady Campbell of Glasgow, 84–86, 149, 150, 153
Louisa of Aberdeen, 142, 154
Maid of the Mill, 91
Marchioness of Queensbury of Glasgow, 148, 154
Margaret, 148, 154
Mars, 145, 154
Mary, 143, 150, 154
Mary of Aberdeen, 154
Miramichi, 20
Monarch, 146, 154

Nancy of Dumfries, 145, 147, 154
Neptune of Ayr, 148, 154
Nile of Dumfries, 144, 154
North Star of Dumfries, 91, 143, 144, 154
Northumberland, 148, 154
Norval of Greenock, 162
Novelty, 110
Olympia, 116, 117
Orbit, 150, 154
Phoenix, 150, 154
Phesdo of Aberdeen, 141, 142, 154
Pilgrim of Aberdeen, 149, 154
Pilot of Newburgh, 147, 154
Pollock of Glasgow, 150, 155
Protector of New Brunswick, 143, 155
Quebec, 149, 155
Rose of Cromarty, 157
Rosina, 75, 77, 78, 82, 85, 141, 155
Royal Adelaide of Greenock, 105, 108, 110, 112, 150, 155
Sidonia, 128
Speculation, 146
Sprightly of Dundee, 142, 155
Star of Aberdeen, 144, 155
Success of Whitehaven, 145, 155
Swallow, 147, 155
Tay, 150, 155
Thomson's Packet of Dumfries, 88, 138, 145–147, 155
Three Brothers of Hull, 143, 155
Trinacaria, 120
Wellington of Aberdeen, 142, 155
Wolves Cove, 149, 155
Ythan of Aberdeen, 142, 143, 155
Shives, Robert, 116
Shoolbred and Smith (London, UK), 20, 97
Simonds Parish (Saint John County), 78, 82
Sinclair, Angus, 165
Skye, Isle of, 104, 105, 108, 110–112, 176
Skye Settlement (York County), 113
Smith, Adam, 132
Smith, George, 132
Smith, Thomas, 68
Smith, William, 104
Smythe, George Stracy (Lieut.-Gov), 12, 78
Somerville, Andrew, 80
Souter, James (Rev), 14, 54, 55, 65, 70, 102, 158
South Bay, 82
South Brook, (Kings County), 84
Southesk, Parish of (Northumberland County), 71, 164
Southwest Miramichi River, 23, 50, 58, 69, 105, 115, 136, 159, 175
Speyside, Scotland, 21, 22, 57
Sprague, Nathaniel, 61
Springfield Church, 170
Springfield, Parish of (Kings County), 82–84
Stanley (York County), 13, 107, 108, 110–112, 175, 176
Steel, William, 102
Sterling, George, 37
Sterling, Robert, 37
Steven, James (Rev.), 37, 99
Stevens, Andrew (Rev.), 37

Stewart, (Capt.), 116
Stewart, Angus, 52
Stewart, Donald, 61
Stewart, Grace, 149
Stewart, Isabella, 166
Stewart, John, 163
Stewart, Peter, 61
Stewart, Robert, 117
Stirling, Scotland, 64
Stirlingshire, 78
Stobbart, James, 68
Stonehaven, New Brunswick, see also Kintore and Bon Accord, 117, 119
Stonehaven, Scotland, 117, 118
Stonehaven Journal, 118
Stornaway, Scotland, 143
Strathadam (Northumberland County), 71
Stromness (Orkney), 53
Stuart, John, 21, 71
Studholm. Parish of (Kings County), 83
Sugar-loaf (Restigouche County), 96
Sunbury County, New Brunswick Sunny Corner (Northumberland County), 71
Sussex Vale (Kings County), 75, 82–84, 141
Sutherland, Alexander, 167
Sutherland, George, 21, 54, 55
Sutherland County, Scotland, 12, 33–36, 43, 53, 54, 141, 161, 165
Sutherland Regiment (93rd), 12
Sweezey, Aaron, 22
Sydney (NS), 137
Syme, David (Rev), 84, 85

Tabusintac (Northumberland County), 51, 54–56, 117, 164
Tay River, New Brunswick, 108
Taylor, David, 125
Taylor, James, 78
Taymouth (York County), 28, 160
Temperance societies, 133
Thom, James, 59, 60
Thomson, James (Rev.), 16, 48, 49, 69, 168
Thurso, Scotland, 10, 64
Timber Colony: A Historical Geography of Early Nineteenth Century New Brunswick, xv
Timber trade, xv, xvii, 3, 7, 8, 10, 15, 22, 32, 38, 45, 46, 50, 58–61, 63, 72, 73, 88, 90, 92, 94–100, 104, 126, 130, 137, 139, 163, 167, 170
Tiding, E.M. (Miss), 71
Titusville (Hampton Parish), 75
Tobermory, Scotland, 148
Tobique River, 126, 177
Troup, George, 124, 128
Tryon Settlement (Charlotte County), 45
Turnbull, John (Rev.), 70, 71
Turner, W., 86

United Church of Canada, 72
United States of America, 4, 14, 28, 32, 34, 38, 40, 46, 82, 88, 97, 115, 128, 131, 137, 141
University of New Brunswick, 133, 179
Upham, Parish of (Kings County), 82, 84
Upper Canada, Province of, 5, 16, 46, 78, 88, 103, 107, 137, 144
Upsalquitch River, 96, 99
Urquhart, John (Rev.), 48

Victoria, County of (NB), 14, 106, 114, 135, 136

Waddell, James, 82
Walker, John, 146
Watson, James, 169
Watt, John, 30
Watt, Thorns, 127
Wealth of Nations, The, 132
Weavers, 58, 67, 77, 89, 102, 103, 149, 174
Weldford, Parish of (Kent County), 90, 94
Wells, Frederick, 40
Welsh, James, 21
West Indies, see British West Indies
Western Isles, see Hebridean Islands
West Scotch Settlement (Kings County), 82, 83
Westmorland, County of (NB), 75, 91, 92, 158
Whitby, 152
Whitier Ridge (Charlotte County), 44
Whitney (Northumberland County), 71
Wigtownshire, 89, 94, 99
Williams, David, 169
Williamson, Archibald, 29, 44
Williamson, Douglas, 44, 163
Willock, John, 102
Wilmington (NC), 33, 141
Wilson, Andrew, 104
Wilson, John, 53, 164
Wilson's Point (Northumberland County), 24, 53, 164
Wishartjohn, 131
Woodstock (Carleton County), 115
Wright, James, 68, 160
Wyers. D., 135
Wynn, Graeme, xv

Yelden, Alexander, 68
Yeoman, Thomas, 21
York, County of (NB), 13, 88, 104–106, 115, 116, 175
Young, Andrew, 68

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Dr. Lucille Campey is a Canadian, living in Britain, with over thirty years experience as a researcher and author. It was her father's Scottish roots and love of history that first stimulated her interest in the early exodus of people from Scotland to Canada. She is the great-great-granddaughter of William Thomson, who left Morayshire on the northeast coast of Scotland in the early 1800s to begin a new life with his family, first near Digby then in Antigonish, Nova Scotia. He is described in D. Whidden's *History of the Town of Antigonish* simply as "William, Pioneer" and is commemorated in the St. James Church and Cemetery at Antigonish. Lucille's mother, Cécile Morency, who was born in Ste-Marie-de-Beauce, was a descendant of Guillaume Baucher dit Morency who settled in Île d'Orléans in 1659.

With Axe and Bible is the seventh in a series that Lucille has written about the Scottish exodus to Canada. It, like the others, is based on the research she undertook while studying for her Ph.D. at Aberdeen University, but it is augmented by considerable new material. Dr. Elizabeth Ritchie of the University of Guelph has described her books as "an invaluable resource for the historian or the genealogist" while the *Montreal Review of Books* thought her latest book on the Lower Canada Scots was "as absorbing as a good historical novel, [and] a genealogist's delight." Lucille is currently working on her eighth book, *An Unstoppable Force,* which will provide an overview of the great Scottish exodus to Canada during the 18th and 19th centuries.

A chemistry graduate of Ottawa University, Lucille worked initially in the fields of science and computing. After marrying her English husband she moved to the north of England, where she studied medieval settlement patterns, acquiring a Master of Philosophy Degree from Leeds University. Having lived for five years in Easter Ross in Scotland while she completed her doctoral thesis, Lucille and Geoff returned to England, and now live near Salisbury in Wiltshire.